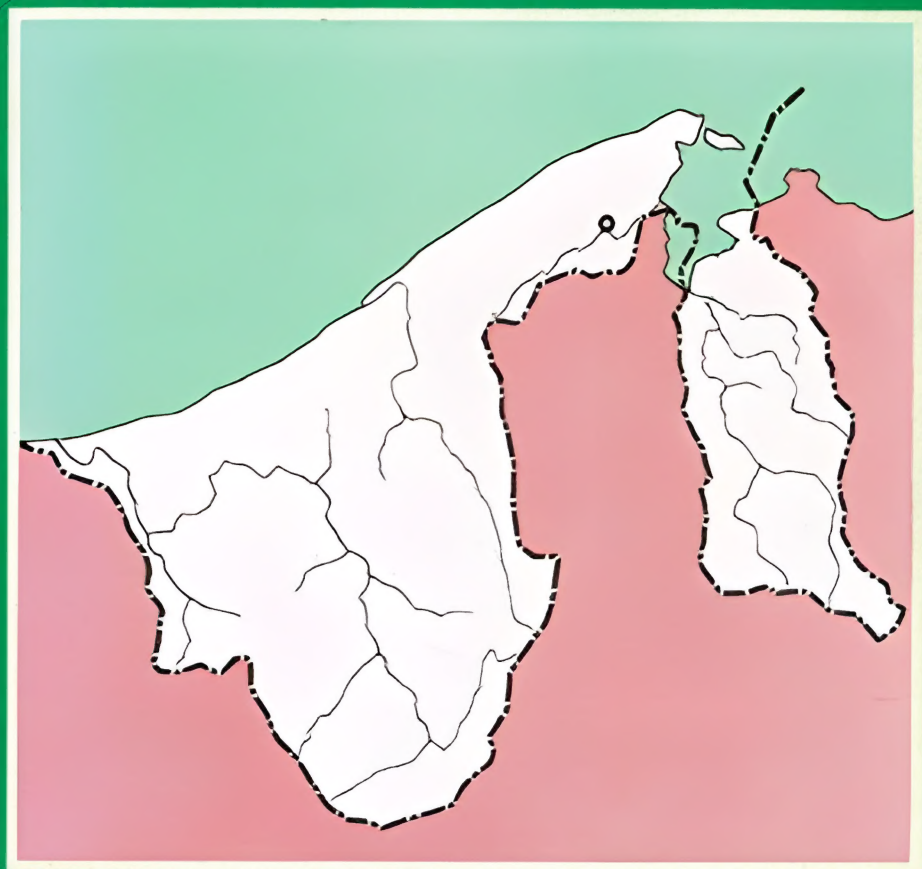


***PARTAI RAKYAT BRUNEI***

**THE PEOPLE'S PARTY  
OF BRUNEI**

***SELECTED DOCUMENTS/DOKUMEN TERPILIH***



**Haji Zaini Haji Ahmad**

**Editor**



# **The People's Party of Brunei**

**SELECTED DOCUMENTS**

**NEGARA KESATUAN KALIMANTAN UTARA**  
*(Unitary State of Kalimantan Utara)*

Lagu Kebangsaan NKKU:

**KALIMANTAN UTARA MERDEKA**

*Kalimantan Utara Merdeka,  
Negara dan Bangsa mulia,  
Seluruh Rakyat bersatu,  
Menjujung Tanah Air ku.*

*Kalimantan Utara Merdeka,  
Tanah Pusaka yang ku chinta,  
Sambutlah seruan Pertiwi,  
Hidup Megah Berdiri.*

*Bangun bergerak Rakyat semua,  
Kearah hidup bahagia,  
Bangun menyusun tenaga kita,  
untuk makmur bersama.*

*Kalimantan Utara Merdeka,  
Bersatu bersatu menuju jaya,  
Kalimantan Utara merdeka,  
Hidup — Jiwa — Bangsa.*

**NKKU. NATIONAL ANTHEM**



# **The People's Party of Brunei**

**SELECTED DOCUMENTS**

**by**

**Haji Zaini Haji Ahmad, M.A.**

**Publisher** : INSAN, the Institute of Social Analysis  
**Printer** : Sun U Book Co. Sdn. Bhd.  
Lot 4, Jalan 13/6A  
46200 Petaling Jaya.

**Type-set:** ARIS TYPESETTING, 11A-2, Bangunan UDA,  
Jalan Pantai Baru, Kuala Lumpur.

*In memory of  
our departed martyrs  
who fought so heroically  
for our ideals  
and gave us our  
Negara Brunei Darussalam.  
Amin.*

# CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Contents	iv
Annerated List of Selected Documents	vi
Foreword	xiii
Illustrations	xv
Introduction	
I The People's Party of Brunei	1
II The Revolution of 8 December 1962	32
III The Struggle Continues 1962—79	50
Notes	71
Selected Documents	
I <i>The Founding of the People's Party of Brunei, 1956</i>	79
The Text of A.M. Azahari's Speech	80
The Constitution of the People's Party of Brunei	85
The Manifesto	95
The Ideology	99
The Sultan's Memo	101
Memorandum on Constitutional Proposals	102
Announcement on The Constitutional Proposal	114
Notes of Meeting with Colonial Under-Secretary, London	119
Notes of Meeting with the Colonial Secretary, London	123
Memorandum on Observations and Petition on Constitutional Proposals	127
PRB Statement on Constitutional Proposals	136
Petition on the Delay in Holding General Elections	145
Joint Statements — Socialist Parties of Malaya	153
Working Paper on the Independence of Northern Borneo	155
The Election Manifesto	161
Joint Memorandum of SUPP, PASOK and PRB to UN	168
Report of UN Sub-Committee II	174
Letter from Kiram Corporation to the Sultan of Brunei	181
Motions Submitted by PRB Representatives on Independence	183
II <i>The Revolution of 8 December 1962</i>	196
The Proclamation of Independence	197
The Provisions Constitution of the Unitary States of Northern Borneo	200
The Political Manifesto	210

	Resolutions of Afro-Asian Conferences Supporting Brunei Revolt	226
	Petition from Opposition Parties of Malaya to UN on Malaysia	229
	Petition from Kassim Ahmad and others to UN on Brunei Revolt	235
	Letter from PRB Leaders Pledging Loyalty and Cooperation to Sultan	245
	Minutes and Declaration of the North Kalimantan People's Consultative Committees	252
III	<i>The People's Party Of Brunei's Presentations</i>	268
	Before Committee Four of the United Nations, 1975	
	Memorandum to Muslim Foreign Ministers' Conference in Kuala Lumpur, 1974	269
	Petition to Commonwealth Secretariat in London	273
	Memorandum to Secretary-General, United Nations, New York, 1975	281
	The Political Manifesto of 1975	285
	Letter of Support from Rabetat al Islamy	302
	Joint Communique between AAPSO and PRB	303
	Statement Delivered by A.M. Azahari Before Sub-Committee II	305
	Summary Records of Sub-Committee II on the Question of Brunei	315
	Consensus of Sub-Committee II on the Question of Brunei	322
	Statement Delivered by A.M. Azahari Before UN Committee IV	324
	Statement Made by H.E. Encik Khir Johari Before Committee IV	335
	UN Resolutions on Brunei	339
	Memorandum to the Non-Aligned Summit Held in Colombo	341
	Appeal to Chairman of UN Committee IV, 1977	354

### The People's Party Of Brunei's Presentations

## **LIST OF DOCUMENTS I**

1. The Text of the Speech by Mr. A.M. Azahari during the inaugural meeting of The People's Party of Brunei.  
Document No. 1/PRB/56.  
Dated 22 January, 1956.
2. The Constitution of the People's Party of Brunei.  
Document No. 2/PRB/56.  
Dated 22 January, 1956.
3. The Manifesto of The People's Party of Brunei.  
Document No. 3/PRB/56.  
Dated 22 January, 1956.
4. The Ideology of The People's Party of Brunei.  
Document No. 4/PRB/56.  
Dated 22 January, 1956.
5. Memorandum of His Highness the Sultan of Brunei on the registration of the People's Party of Brunei.  
Document No. 5/PRB/56.  
Dated 9 June, 1956.
6. Memorandum on Constitutional Proposal submitted by the People's Party of Brunei to the Colonial Secretary in London.  
Document No. 6/PRB/57  
Dated June, 1957.
7. British Resident's Announcement on the Constitutional Proposal.  
Document No. 7/PRB/57.  
Dated 25 July, 1957.
8. Notes of Meeting held between Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies and the People's Party of Brunei "Merdeka" Mission at the Colonial Office, London.

Document No. 8/PRB/57.

Dated 26 September, 1957.

9. Notes of Meeting held between Secretary of State for the Colonies and the People's Party of Brunei "Merdeka Mission" at the Colonial Office, London.  
Document No. 9/PRB/57.  
Dated 30 September, 1957.
10. Memorandum containing Observations and Petitions on the Constitutional Proposal submitted by the People's Party of Brunei to His Highness, the Sultan of Brunei.  
Document No. 10/PRB/58.  
Dated 23 January, 1958.
11. People's Party of Brunei Statement on the Proposed Constitution for Brunei.  
Document No. 11/PRB/59.  
Dated 5 December, 1959.
12. Petition to the Colonial Secretary in London Regarding the Delay in the Holding of General Elections in Brunei.  
Document No. 12/PRB/61.  
Dated 4 August, 1961.
13. Joint Statement of Leaders of the Socialist Parties of Malaya and Brunei attending the Inaugural Meeting of the Socialist Front of Singapore.  
Document No. 13/PRB/61.  
Dated ( not available )
14. Working Paper on the Independence of the Unitary States of Northern Borneo (N.K.K.U.) submitted by the People's Party of Brunei to the Malayan People's Socialist Front Conference held in Kuala Lumpur.  
Document No. 14/PRB/62.  
Dated 26 January, 1962.
15. The Election Manifesto of The People's Party of Brunei.  
Document No. 15/PRB/62.  
Dated 20 August, 1962.

16. Joint Memorandum submitted by the Sarawak United People's Party, Pasok Momonggon Party of Sabah, and the People's Party of Brunei to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, New York.  
Document No. 16/PRB/62.  
Dated 9 September, 1962.
17. The Twenty-Third Report of the Sub Committee on Petitions, United Nations.  
Document No. A/AC. 109/L. 36.  
Dated 14 September, 1962.
18. Letter from Kiram Corporation of Manila to His Highness the Sultan of Brunei Assigning Its Sovereign Rights to Sabah in Accordance with the Principles of the People's Party of Brunei.  
Document No. 17/PRB/62.  
Dated 28 November, 1962.
19. Motions submitted by:
  - a. Honourable Member, Awang Hapidz Laxamana.
  - b. Honourable Member, Muhammad Yasin bin Abd. Rahman
  - c. Honourable Member, Idris bin Iman Ghani, and
  - d. Honourable Member, Pengiran Metussin Pg. Hj. Lampoh.on Malaysia and the Independence of Brunei to the Legislative Council scheduled to meet on 5 December, 1962.  
Document No. 18/PRB/62.  
Dated 3 December, 1962.



## LIST OF DOCUMENTS II

20. The Proclamation of Independence of The Unitary States of Northern Borneo — Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara (N.K.K.U.)  
Document No. 19/PRB/62.  
Dated 8 December, 1962.
21. The Provisional Constitution of the Unitary States of Northern Borneo — N.K.K.U.  
Document No. 20/PRB/62.  
Dated 8 December, 1962.
22. The Political Manifesto of The Unitary States of Northern Borneo — N.K.K.U.  
Document No. 21/PRB/62.  
Dated 8 December, 1962.
23. Resolutions of Afro-Asian Conferences in support of the Revolutionary Government of the Unitary States of Northern Borneo — N.K.K.U.  
Document No. 22/PRB/63.  
Dated February, 4-11, 1963; January 26, 1964; May 9-16, 1965.
24. Petition submitted by the Opposition Parties of Malaya to the Secretary-General, United Nations, New York.  
Document No. 23/PRB/63.  
Dated 26 April, 1963.
25. Petition submitted by Encik Kassim Ahmad, for and on behalf of Malayan and Singaporean residents in London, concerning the situation in South East Asia and the Brunei Uprisings, to the Secretary-General, United Nations, New York.  
Document No. A/AC. 109/PET. 128.  
Dated 17 May, 1963.
26. Letter from the detained leaders of the People's Party of Brunei to the Chief Minister, Brunei pledging loyalty and co-operation

to His Highness the Sultan of Brunei.

Document No. 24/PRB/64.

Dated 31 August, 1964.

27. Minutes and Declaration of the North Kalimantan People's Revolutionary Consultative Committee held in Jakarta.

Document No. 25/PRB/65.

Dated 29 March, 1965.

### **LIST OF DOCUMENTS III**

28. Memorandum submitted by PRB to Muslim Foreign Ministers' Conference in Kuala Lumpur.  
Document No. 26/PRB/74.  
1974.
29. Petition submitted by the People's Party of Brunei to the Secretary-General, Commonwealth of Nations in London.  
Document No. 27/PRB/75.  
Dated 17 March, 1975.
30. Petition submitted by the People's Party of Brunei to the Secretary-General, The United Nations, New York.  
Document No. 28/PRB/75.  
Dated 17 March, 1975.
31. The Political Manifesto,  
The People's Party of Brunei.  
Document No. 29/PRB/75.  
1 April, 1975.
32. Letter of support to the struggle of the People's Party of Brunei.  
The Secretary-General, Rabetat Al-Islami, Mecca, Saudi Arabia.  
Document No. 30/PRB/75.  
Dated April (Jamadil Awal), 1975.
33. Joint-Communique between Secretary-General, AAPSO and President, People's Party of Brunei.  
Document No. 31/PRB/75.  
Dated 4 May, 1975
34. Statement delivered by Mr. A.M.Azahari, President of the People's Party of Brunei before Sub-Committee II of the Committee Twenty-Four, United Nations, New York.  
Document No. 32/PRB/75.  
Dated 15 July, 1975.
35. Summary Record of the Two Hundred and Forty First Meeting of Sub-Committee II.

Document A/AC. 109/SC. 3/SR. 241.

Dated 22 July, 1975.

36. The Consensus of Sub-Committee II of the Committee of Twenty Four on **Brunei**.  
Document No. A/AC. 109/L. 1052.  
Dated 14 August, 1975.
37. Statement delivered by Mr. A.M. Azahari, President of the People's Party of Brunei before the Fourth Committee of the 30th Session of the General Assembly, United Nations, New York.  
Document No. 33/PRB/75.  
Dated 13 November, 1975.
38. Statement made by H.E. Encik Khir Johari, Permanent Representative of Malaysia to the United Nations in the Fourth Committee on the **Question of Brunei**.  
Document No. 34/PRB/75.  
Dated 13 November, 1975.
39. Implementation of the Declaration of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The **Question of Brunei**.  
Document No. A/AC. 4/L. 1103.  
Dated 12 November, 1975.
40. Memorandum to The Non-Aligned Summit Conference held in Colombo, 1976.  
Document No. 35/PRB/76.  
Dated 27 July, 1976.
41. An Appeal to The Chairman, The Fourth Committee, United Nations General Assembly, New York.  
Document No. 36/PRB/77.  
Dated 24 October, 1977.

Assalamualaikum Wr. Wb.

Sebagai seorang yang secara langsung terlibat dalam kegiatan Partai Rakyat Brunei, Saya mengucapkan syukur kehadiran Allah SWT atau bimbinganNya terhadap PRB dalam memperjuangkan yang Hak dan menangkis yang Batil. Saya juga mengucapkan terima kasih kepada penyusun/penerbit Buku ini yang telah mengorbankan banyak masa dan wang ringgit untuk menerbitkannya. Semoga Allah memberkati juga ke atas hamba-hambaNya yang ingin membuat bakti kepada bangsa, negara dan agamanya.

Hari ini (20hb. Ogos, 1987) genaplah 31 tahun usianya PRB muncul ditengah-tengah masyarakat di bumi Brunei, Kalimantan Utara. Kelahiran PRB di bumi Brunei Darussalam ini adalah untuk membawa rakyat berhijarah dari alam penjajahan ke dunia bebas. Bebas dari sebarang bentuk penjajahan dan manifestasinya. PRB berjuang untuk kemerdekaan Brunei dan berbakti kepada DYMM Baginda Sultan, supaya mengujudkan satu bangsa dan negara yang merdeka, berdaulat dan bermaruah.

Untuk berhijarah kedaerah yang baru itu, kita mestilah berani dan sanggup meninggalkan daerah yang lama dan cara hidup tradisional yang sudah tidak sesuai lagi dengan zaman kini. Dan untuk sampai kepada destinasi yang kita tuju itu tentunya kita melalui liku-liku dan cabaran demi cabaran dari segala sudut. Tidak kurangnya nyawa dan harta benda ikut terkorban dalam penghijarahan ini. Tapi, kepada kita yang ingin meneroka daerah yang baru itu, ini bukanlah menjadi tembok penghalang bagi perjuangan suatu bangsa itu untuk berjalan terus. Kerana kejayaan itu terletak di atas tekad yang kuat. Dan adalah disedari bahwa

setiap perubahan dan pembaruan itu mestinya melalui proses pengorbanan. Kalau kita takut meninggalkan tempat yang lama, kita tidak akan pernah sampai kedaerah yang baru. Umpamanya, sebatang lebuhraya yang megah dan indah, ianya terbina di atas kemusnahan beberapa banyak warisan alam semula jadi yang ada di sekelilingnya telah terkorban. Di atas pengorbanan inilah ianya ujud demi kegunaan orang ramai.

Dengan kelahiran Buku ini banyak sedikit dapatlah umum mengenali dasar-dasar perjuangan dan kegiatan-kegiatan PRB selama 31 tahun ini. Saya menganggap Buku ini sangat berguna, khususnya kepada generasi muda di Brunei yang ingin mengenal sejarah tanah airnya.

Bangsa yang besar itu bukanlah diukur dari ramai penduduk dan luas wilayah negerinya, tapi bangsa yang agong dan berwibawa adalah bangsa yang mengenal dan menghormati sejarah bangsanya, serta menyedari pada hakikat ujudnya keadaan yang ada hari ini, adalah bersumber dari peranan sejarah bangsa itu sendiri. Apakah peranan yang dipermainkan dan pencapaian yang diperolehi PRB selama 31 tahun ini? Saya kira adalah adil, kalau kita serahkan kepada sejarah untuk menghakimkannya. Kerana sejarah itu adalah sebijak-bijak hakim.

Sekianlah dan saya ucapkan terima kasih sekali lagi kepada penyusun/penerbit BUKU ini yang saya anggap penting, kerana ianya merupakan satu rentesan peristiwa yang berlaku dalam ruang sejarah Negara Brunei Darussalam yang tercinta. Saya juga mohon kepada Allah SWT agar roh kawan-kawan yang telah gugur kerana menegakkan kebenaran itu ditempatkan bersama-sama para Syuhada. Dan kepada kawan-kawan yang ada saya mohon juga supaya ditetapkan iman serta kuatkan tekad dan pegangan. Insya Allah, Awan yang mendung itu pasti akan beredar, apabila hujan turun... kelak!

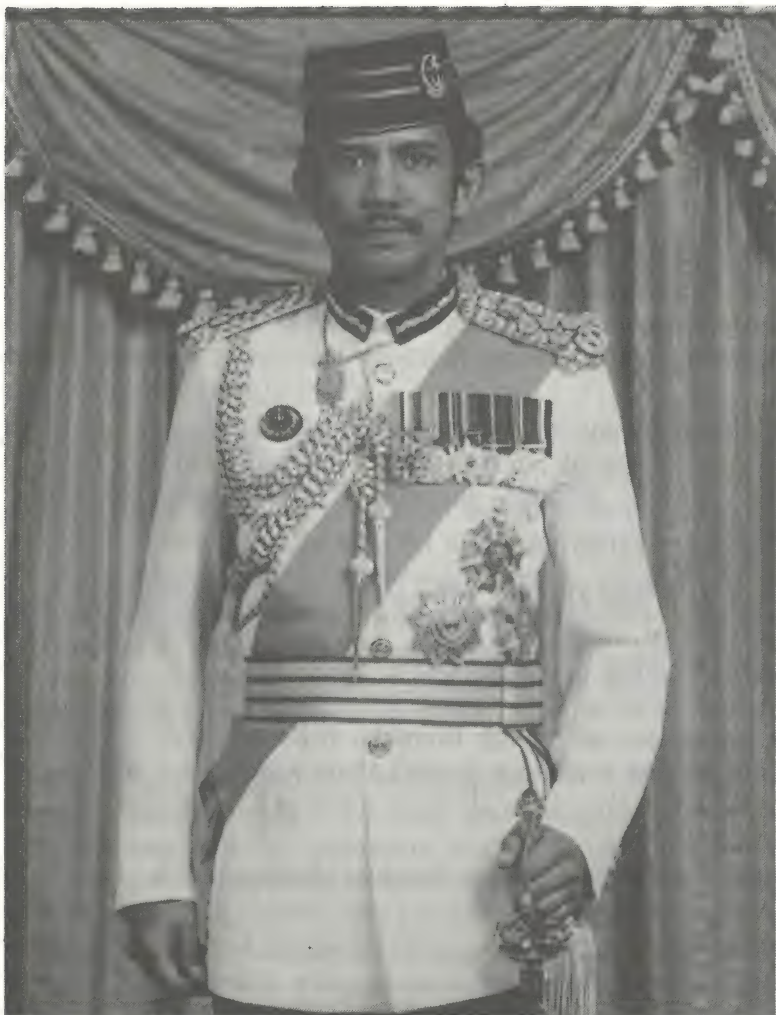
Wassalam,  
Yang ikhlas

(YASIN AFFANDY)

20-8-1987.

Dip. Perantauan.

ILLUSTRATIONS	<i>Page</i>
His Majesty, Sultan Sir Hassanal Bolkiah II	xvi
His Majesty, General Sir Haji Omar Ali Saifuddin III.	xvii
Former NKKU Foreign Minister, Haji Muhammad Manggol.	70
A.M. Azahari	78
Ong Kee Hui and Donald Stephens.	179
Map of Brunei	180
Inaugural meeting of PRB.	192
First party congress	193
Party supporters welcoming Merdeka Mission.	194
Malayan leaders attending Second Party Congress.	195
PRB Headquarters	263
Sir Denis White	264
Inmates of Detention Camp, Berakas playing games.	265
European Prisoners of War	266
British soldiers on patrol	267
Inmates of Block J.	368
PRB Executive Committee Members, 1974	369
PRB delegation before the UN Fourth Committee	370



KEBAWAH DULI YANG MAHA MULIA PADUKA SERI BAGINDA SULTAN DAN YANG DI-PERTUAN SIR MUDA HASSANAL BOLKIAH MU'IZZADDIN WADDAULAH IBNI DULI YANG TERAMAT MULIA PADUKA SERI BEGAWAN SULTAN HAJI SIR MUDA OMAR 'ALI SAIFUDDIEN SA'ADUL KHAIRI WADDIEN, D.K.M.B., D.K., P.S.S.U.B., D.P.K.G., D.P.K.T., P.S.P.N.B., P.S.N.B., P.S.L.J., S.P.M.B., P.A.N.B., G.C.M.G., D.M.N., D.K.(KELANTAN), D.K. (JOHORI), D.K. (NEGERI SEMBILAN)  
SULTAN DAN YANG DI-PERTUAN NEGARA BRUNEI DARUSSALAM

*"For 300 years, from the 16th through to the 19th centuries, our land and our region were wracked by rampant piracy, a series of wars; the violence of those who called themselves explorers, but whom we knew as exploiters,"*

*Sultan Bolkiah II, United Nations, 1985.*





DULI YANG TERAMAT MULIA PADUKA SERI BEGAWAN SULTAN JENERAL HAJI SIR  
MUDA OMAR 'ALI SAIFUDDIEN SA'ADUL KHAIRI WADDIEN IBNI AL-MARHUM  
SULTAN MOHAMMAD JAMALUL ALAM,  
D.K.M.B., D.K., G.C.V.O., K.C.M.G., P.S.S.U.B., P.H.B.S., P.B.L.I.

*"WHEREAS WE intend to govern in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution (the Constitution of Brunei, 1959) and the laws of the State and, by progressive steps hereafter, to introduce further representative institutions into the government of the State;"*

*Sir Omar Ali Saifuddin III, 1959.*



## INTRODUCTION

**THE PEOPLE'S PARTY OF BRUNEI** — Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB) was formed on the 22 of January, 1956, two months after the founding of the People's Party of Malaya (PRM). Official registration, however, was not given until August 15, or seven months later. The delay was partly caused by political and legal reasons. Politically, the PRB was going to be registered as a branch of the PRM. It was refused on 'technical grounds', that is to say the Societies Enactment, under which the PRB was registered did not allow a locally registered organisation to have outside affiliation.

The PRB's inaugural meeting took place in the house of Cikgu Saleh bin Masri, a veteran politician known for his radicalism. Cikgu Saleh bin Masri, sometime also known as H.M. Saleh was the President of the banned Brunei Youth Front (Barisan Pemuda Brunei — BARIP) and had served a suspended sentence of six months during the British Military Administration for collaboration with the Japanese during the war. Some 150 people attended the meeting. They came from all over the districts of Brunei. For example, Cikgu Manan bin Muhammad came from Tutong, Jasin Affandy from Seria, Zaini Haji Ahmad from Kuala Belait, Jais Haji Karim from Kilanas, and Muhammad Jamaluddin from Muara. The Special Branch sent Cpl. Musa bin Ludin and Private Awang Daud bin Bakar to observe the meeting.

A.M. Azahari chaired the meeting and he was assisted by H.M. Saleh. In his inaugural speech, A.M. Azahari explained the objectives of the PRM and why he thought it the right political party to represent their aspirations. For the first time, A.M. Azahari showed high respect for the British, quote:

“We shall not hate the British. As a matter of fact, we shall respect them as our teachers, especially if the British Government immediately recognised our basic rights.” <sup>1</sup>

The organisers of the PRB have always been law abiding citizens. A week before the PRB's inaugural meeting, A.M. Azahari met the British Resident, Mr. J.O. Gilbert, in his office. He told Mr. Gilbert in confidence the purpose of the meeting. The Police was also informed of the meeting, a fact attested to by the presence of the two Special Branch officers who were present. This was done to show the **administering power** the sincerity of the organisers in wanting an understanding with the authority *at ibnito*.

The first Branch Standing Committee elected was to consist of A.M. Azahari as Branch Chairman, H.M. Saleh as his deputy, Jasin Affandy as Secretary, and the late H.B. Hidup as the Assistant Secretary. Other Committee Members were Pengiran Damit bin Pengiran Sungguh, Awang Yakub bin Zainal, Awang Suleiman Putih, Jais bin Haji Karim, Kadir Jaluddin, Cikgu Manan bin Muhammad, and Zaini Haji Ahmad.

An application for the registration of the PRB was submitted on the 31 of January.<sup>2</sup> On the same day, the Branch Secretary, Jasin Affandy received a hand delivered letter from the Registrar of Society, who was also the Chief Police Officer requesting the organisers of the party to disassociate themselves from the PRM and at the same time to refrain from recruiting members forthwith. The organisers were reminded not to engage in any political activity until further notice.<sup>3</sup>

The warning came as a terrible blow to the PRB's organisers. It signalled a prolonged 'tug of war' between the nationalist movement in the state and one of the oldest colonial powers, Great Britain. The unfortunate development would widen the gap between the PRB and Great Britain into an adversarial relationship that was later to deteriorate into irreconcilable differences. However, the organisers of the PRB did not lose hope. A secret meeting organised by H.M. Saleh was held at the only restaurant in town, the **Snow Man**, in the middle of February. As the Society Enactment prohibited an organisation from foreign affiliation, a formula had to be found. After lengthy arguments on the pros and cons, the organisers settled on a Pan Borneon political party with slight changes made to the PRB's policy

and objects to suit local circumstances. The Brunei based party would be renamed the People's Party of Northern Borneo, or Partai Rakyat Kalimantan Utara. Protem Branch Chairman, A.M. Azahari was given the mandate to negotiate the new approach with the British Resident, who he saw a few days later.

The 1906 Treaty of Friendship entered into between the Sultan of Brunei and Her Majesty's Government gave the British Resident a 'carte blanche' power of life and death. The Sultan of Brunei was bound to seek and accept the Resident's advice on matters of state, except those affecting the Malay customs and Islam. In actual fact, this depended on the charismatic attitude of the individual Sultan. The relationship would not be that simple. The British Resident had not only to refer matters of state to higher authority, in this case the British High Commissioner in Kuching, Sarawak. Sometime they were referred to the Sultan for opinion and decision. This came to light on the question of the PRB's registration. In a return Memo to the British Resident, the Sultan did not object to the registration of the PRB provided, quote:

"parti itu mesti diuntukan dalam Negeri Brunei saja dan tidak berkuasa atau menjalankan pengaruh atau muslihatnya dalam negeri-negeri Sabah dan Sarawak." <sup>4</sup>

In an earlier memo, the British Resident suggested to the Sultan that the PRB should be allowed to operate in Brunei, with the possibility of having branches in Sarawak and Sabah. The Sultan, however, began to sense the political motive behind this proposal, recalling it as part of the old British design to bring Brunei, Sarawak and Sabah (North Borneo) into formal association. The Sultan has always been sensitive to such an arrangement. He did not want his small but rich state to federate, even loosely, with Sarawak and Sabah because it meant down grading the status of Brunei to that of a colony.

June came, yet the party was still unregistered. Suspense crept into the mind of the organisers who were growing agitated. In a move to break the deadlock, the organisers decided to send a delegation to see the British Resident. Headed by A.M. Azahari, the other members of the delegation were H.M. Saleh, Jasin Affandy, H.B.Hidup, Abdullah Jahfar and Zaini Haji Ahmad. The British Resident, who had by this time shown some sympathy for the PRB,

agreed to grant the request for an interview. Though the meeting was cordial and held in an atmosphere of understanding, no decision on the party's registration was reached, and this heightened anxiety among the organisers and the rank and file.

In early July the Protem Secretary received a letter from the Registrar of Society. In his letter dated 11 July, the Registrar said he could not register the party in its present form because "satu daripada tujuan menjelma akan merubah perlembagaan bagi negeri-negeri selain dari Brunei."<sup>5</sup> In other words, if registered as it was, the party would be allowed to operate and have its branches in Sabah and Sarawak. So the organisers of the PRB were given the opportunity to change the constitution of the party so that it could only operate in the state.

An extra-ordinary meeting of the Protem Committee members was called in the third week of July. The meeting discussed the new colonial manipulation and pressure. The majority of those present refused to accept less than the right to operate in Sarawak and Sabah. But A.M. Azahari's power of persuasion won the day and the meeting finally accepted the new arrangement as *fait accompli*. It decided to send another delegation to meet the British Resident with the message that no more delay in the registration of the party would be tolerated. A.M. Azahari, Jasin Affandy and Zaini Haji Ahmad formed the delegation.

As arranged, the British Resident met the delegation on July 25. During the short but fruitful meeting, A.M. Azahari informed the British Resident of the organisers' willingness to change, where necessary, the objectives and constitution of the proposed **Partai Rakyat Brunei, Kalimantan Utara**. This meant that Section 4 (b) of the Constitution would be deleted, particularly the clause dealing with "memperjuangkan kemerdekaan bagi seluruh kepulauan Melayu yang berdaulat secara perlembagaan."<sup>6</sup> Now that the PRB agreed to direct its struggle for the independence of Brunei only, at least constitutionally, the last obstacle to the deadlock was removed and on the 15 of August, 1956 the PRB was registered officially.<sup>7</sup>

The **Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB)**, as the name symbolises, is the party of the people. It is a poor man's party. It receives no financial backing from any quarter. Unlike most present-day political parties, which are patronised by 'financiers', the PRB has none. What it has

had is only a dedicated group of people whose prime objective in life was, and still does, is to serve the country and the nation. Its strength came from the unity of the people who want to be free and regain their long lost honour and dignity.

The late Sheikh Mahmud bin Sheikh Hamid (A.M. Azahari's father) sympathetically allowed his house in Kampung Padang, Jalan Tutong, to be the temporary headquarters of the PRB. It was in this little house of Kampung Padang that many historical events took place. The first ever demonstration, for example, started from this house in January, 1953. The people nicknamed this house the **House of Hope**.

### **The Brunei Film Production Company (BRUFICO) Affair**

What happened in January that year was a procession of 300 men, some carrying banners, marched to the main Government Office asking the British Resident, H.J.R. Barcroft to reconsider his earlier decision to ban the Brunei Film Production Company—Brufico.<sup>8</sup> The marchers picketed outside the British Resident's Office and the Police Riot Squad was called to disperse them. The marchers refused to disperse until a decision was made on the registration of Brufico. The procession broke up only after Pengiran Kerma Indera Muhammad, and the Brunei District Officer, Pengiran Abu Bakar bin Pengiran Omar, accompanied by Inspector Mohammad requested the crowd to go back.<sup>9</sup>

Nonetheless, the ring leaders of the procession were arrested by the Police and charged in court for organising an 'unlawful assembly' with the common object to overawe the government. The accused, A.M. Azahari, Sheikh Nikman Sheikh Mahmud, Sheikh Mohammad Sheikh Mahmud, Sheikh Osman Sheikh Mahmud (all brothers of A.M. Azahari), Abdullah Jahfar, Muhammad Haji Mangol, Awang Hidup bin Awang Besar, and Awang Tuah bin Putih were found guilty and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment. In addition, A.M. Azahari was fine \$500 or a further six months jail in default. The Presiding Magistrate was Assistant Resident, G.A.T. Shaw and the Prosecuting Officer, Superintendent of Police, K. Leeston-Smith.<sup>10</sup>

High Court Judge Lascelles, who heard the appeal reduced the sentence to three months rigorous imprisonment, except for A.M.

Azahari who was jailed for six months. Two platoons of the North Borneo Police were flown into Brunei, presumably taken as a security measure. They arrived in the state a few days before the appeal. It might be due to the government's fear that there was still a threat to overawe the government and the country was on the verge of a revolution, editorialised the **Strait Times** of 11 March, 1953.

The first few weeks after the registration of the PRB, the party headquarters became the centre of political activity. Party workers from all over the country thronged the House of Hope to take and bring in membership forms to be processed by party officials. Within a short period, some 12,000 people applied to become members of the party. They came from all walks of life and as far as Limbang, Terusan, Lawas, and Miri in Sarawak, and Sipitang, Merapok and Labuan in Sabah. There was nothing extra-ordinary about the overwhelming response. The people had long waited for the birth of a party that could become their vehicle to freedom and independence. The party's popularity had transcended the boundaries of states imposed by the colonial power since the 9th Century. It was a fact of history that the birth of the PRB caused a wave of national revivalism in the other two territories. It created new hope and a sense of belonging, especially among the Brunei Malays and Kedayans who are domiciled in Sarawak and Sabah.

The birth of the PRB was, however, not without any opposition. Its popularity among the people caused fear among the traditionalists. They saw the party as an evil creature that threatened the very root of their existence. Political mobilisation, they thought, would deprive them of their traditional role as the patrons of society. The days of the old 'patron-client' relationship had been numbered. It was just a question of time before the chain of bondage would be severed, leaving the parasites of society to face the inevitability of natural death.

In the midst of uncertainty, the traditionalist group sought to delay if not stop the process of history through political manipulation and treachery by malicious campaigning against the PRB. Rumour began to spread that the PRB was anti-establishment and wanted, by forceful means, to change the system of government and substituted it with a republic. The malicious whispering campaign went to the extent that leaders of the PRB aimed to cause bodily



harm to the Sultan, reminding the palace of the BRUFICO AFFAIRS as an instance. Working hand and hand with the colonial authority, the group almost succeeded in using the Brufico Affairs to influence the Sultan to destroy the newly born PRB. From the day it was founded, the PRB continued to be the object of reprisal and revenge. Only the perserverance and political maturity of the leaders of the PRB kept the party in existence and live to see its struggle endorsed by the United Nations.

The political manipulation manifested itself in many ways and forms. The subtle practice was to transfer pro-PRB civil servants, mostly Malay school teachers to lesser important posts or to far away district like Temburong. Promotions (or demotions) and salary increases (or decreases) were other forms of manipulations employed by the government to influence the attitude of civil servants towards the party. Village headmen were specifically instructed to watch the behaviour of people in their wards and to report any unusual movements or activities to the nearest officers of peace in the locality. A slight variant in a villager's day to day routine would easily attract the watchful eyes of the village headmen and put him on a black-list. Even religion, Islam, the purest of them all was used as the tool of intimidation. Verses from the Holy Quran and the Sayings of the Holy Prophet Mohammad s.a.w. were often used to neutralise the agitated mind of the rural people. Those who did not dance to the tune were branded as infidels.

The emergence of the new social conflict represented the natural reaction of a feudalistic and poly-class society of the past; it normally takes time for such a society to adjust itself to the changing circumstances. Longer still if the changes threaten to affect the fibre of society itself. The existence of a politically organised group in the highly stratified social heirachy in Brunei was an unfortunate event to some. An American social anthropologist, Dr. Donald Brown observed in his doctoral thesis, **Brunei, The Structure and History of a Borneo Malay Sultanate** (Cornell, USA) that the Brunei Government did not agree with the people on the concept of modern society. In a freak society like Brunei, the emergence of social conflict was inevitable.

Having consolidated itself in the country, the PRB immediately established solidarity with fraternal parties in Singapore, Malaya and Indonesia. It also solicited support from countries like

Indonesia, Pakistan, India and Egypt. The party sent officials to establish contact with embassy officials. In September, 1956 the PRB delegated its Vice-President, H.M. Saleh and Party Organiser, Zaini Haji Ahmad, to represent the party at the Language and Literary Congress held in Johore Bahru. The following month, another delegation left for Labuan to meet Dr. Kartowisastro, a high ranking embassy official from the Indonesian Consulate in Singapore. The delegation symbolically presented the Consul a miniature brass cannon casted in Brunei to Bung Karno.

In November the PRM held its Second Congress in Ipoh, Perak. The PRB sent a high powered delegation to attend the congress as an observer. A.M. Azahari himself led the delegation, with Secretary-General Jasin Affandy and Party Treasurer, Hapidz Laxamana among others. The PRB was so active and vocal that it triggered deterrent action by the Colonial Authorities in Singapore and Malaya. On arrival at the Singapore International Airport, members of the PRB delegation were subjected to strict security checks, while in Ipoh the Special Branch raided the May Fair Hotel where the delegation stayed. The late Dato Onn Jahfar, writing in the Malay weekly KRITIK demanded a public explanation from the Chief Minister on the ruthless police action.<sup>11</sup> Needless to say, the PRB Headquarters in Brunei sent a strongly worded protest to the Chief Minister saying the move was very colonial. This was the beginning of a bad era. It nurtured mistrust between the PRB and the Chief Minister. It strenghtened the party's ties with the socialist group in Malaya.

The People's Party of Singapore — Partai Rakyat Singapura (PRS) held its first Congress in February, 1957. The PRB was represented by its President, A.M. Azahari.<sup>12</sup> Among resolutions passed by the Congress was one to support the PRB's concept of the unification of Sarawak, Brunei and Sabah. This heightened the colonial authority's vigilance of the trio — the PRM, PRB and PRS. There seemed to be a kind of grand conspiracy of the three to challenge British colonialism and unite the three territories under socialist banner. Britain's naked invasion of Egypt with France and Israel was condemned by the PRB. On the 5 of November, 1956 it sent a cablegram to Prime Minister Harold Macmillan protesting strongly against the military action with copies sent to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

## **Constitutional Development**

Omar Ali Saifuddin Kahiri Waddin ascended the Darusalam Throne on the 6 of June 1950 on the sudden death of his brother, Sultan Sir Ahmad Tajuddin in Singapore two days earlier.<sup>13</sup> As an enlightened ruler, he dreamt of bringing his backward and feudal state into the reality of the 20 century — a kind of social and political development in line with the changing pattern affecting South East Asia during that time. Socio-culturally, he built schools, hospitals and basic infra-structure. Politically, he tried by gradual means to experiment with a kind of democratic institution tailored to sustain the legitimacy of his succession to the Darusalam Throne. Subsequently, in May 1953 the Sultan appointed an Ad Hoc Committee with the purpose of seeking the views of the people on a democratic institution.<sup>14</sup> With the late Pengiran Maharaja Leila Muda Abdul Kahar as Chairman, other members of the Committee (the Advisory Committee) were Chief Khadi Pengiran Mohammad Saleh, Pehin Orang Kaya Di Gadong Mohammad Yusuf, Pehin Orang Kaya Shahbandar Haji Ahmad, Pengiran Ali bin Pengiran Mohd. Daud, Pengiran Yusuf bin Pengiran Abdul Rahim and Pehin Penyurat Abu Bakar.<sup>15</sup> By early 1954 the Advisory Committee visited Johore, Negeri Sembilan, Selangor and Kelantan to observe how democratic government was carried out at all levels.<sup>16</sup> On its return, the Advisory Committee prepared and submitted a Memorandum to the Sultan which was partially implemented, stage by stage, in the 1954 through 1957 period. It began with the setting up of Advisory District Councils for Brunei/Muara, Temburong, Tutong and Kuala Belait/Seria districts. Members to the councils were appointed by the Sultan. The District Councillors in turn were nominated, one each from Temburong and Tutong, two from Kuala Belait/Seria and three observers from Brunei/Muara District, to the State Assembly.

The new system of government seemed to function fairly effectively. Though most of the members were civil servants, the proceedings of the four District Councils served as a forum of discussion. In 1956 the State Assembly passed the Local Government Enactment. It created four District Councils and one Municipal Council to serve the Brunei Town area. The councils enjoyed full autonomy in administrative and financial management. Unfortunately, the people rejected the new system. They argued it was an attempt on the part of the government to shift the burden of taxes to

the poor people. The rejection ended any intention by the Sultan to democratise the system of government in Brunei.

At a glance, the people's decision not to participate in the day to day administration of the districts seemed a political set back. To refuse a test of power, in the twentieth century, was indeed unthinkable. What actually happened was that the concept of local government was presented to the people by the wrong officers at the wrong time. The neighbouring Colony of Sarawak had introduced local government a few years earlier and the move caused hardship to the rural people because of the burden of rates imposed on them. So when the local government system was introduced in Brunei, quite incidentally by seconded officers from the Colony of Sarawak, the people interpreted the new set up as a move to put the State on the same level of political development as Sarawak.

In a nut-shell, local government meant an unnecessary tax burden and semi-colonial status. For the people of Brunei, political development meant direct participation in the national government. And as the State derived enough income from oil, the introduction of local rates through the proposed local authority was but a colonial manipulation. The old saying that one's food may be poison to another holds good here.

It is important to note at this juncture that opposition to the local government idea came direct from the people and not through political mobilisation. It came from individuals who opposed the idea collectively. The PRB was not registered yet. The party did not make any stand on the issue until March, 1957. In a statement issued by the Head of the Information Bureau, the PRB viewed the proposed constitutional changes as "primitive and undemocratic" It went straight to the point of boycotting the proposed constitution. Elections to the four district councils would also be boycotted.

Notwithstanding the PRB's stand, the government proceeded to make arrangements for the proposed election at the district level. Primarily the Sultan nominated 16 members from among the district councillors to sit in the State Council as observers. With the exception of the Pengiran Besar from Kuala Belait/Seria District, George Newn Ah Foot, who purportedly represented the Chinese community, Cikgu Abdul Manan Muhammad from Tutong District, and Awang Tengah bin Ampuan Daud from Temburong District, all

the new State Councillors were civil servants from the teaching profession.

Meanwhile, the PRB held its First Congress on the 22 of March, 1957. Its plenary session was held at the Hassanah Bolkihah Cinema, the only available public meeting place in town. About five hundred (500) branch, sub-branch leaders and observers, including few supporters from Limbang, Lawas, Miri, Sibuti, Sipitang, and Labuan, flocked to pack the 500 seat Cinema Hall. After the plenary session, the delegates and observers retired to a specifically constructed (temporary) building in Kampung Kilanas, a small town 7 mile up the Brunei-Tutong Road. Here the meeting, closed to non-delegates and members of the press, discussed matters of national interest.

The two-day Congress adopted a number of important resolutions. Among them was to direct the Central Executive Committee of the party to prepare a Memorandum to demand full self-government and independence from Great Britain. The Memorandum was to be submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London.<sup>17</sup> Basically the Memorandum asked the British Government to hold **free and democratic elections** in Brunei. At least 75% of the members of the proposed Legislature should be elected by adult suffrage, and the party which commands the majority in the house should form the government. It asked the British Government to recognise **Malay, English and Chinese** languages as the official languages. The multi-lingualism concept, it should be noted, caused friction in the party between A.M. Azahari and Zaini Haji Ahmad. The latter refused to accept the concept of multi-lingualism and voted against it when it was brought to the Executive Committee for approval. It almost cost him his position in the party. Ironically, it was Jais Haji Karim, the Head of the Economic Section, who was suspended from the Executive Committee for his critical and blind personal attack on Zaini Haji Ahmad over the multi-lingualism issue.

Another important resolution adopted by the First Congress was one on the concept of 'Union or Federation' of the three territories of Sarawak, Brunei and Sabah. The resolution was based on the historical background of the three territories which at one time belonged to Brunei. The claim implied that the British Government should take steps to realise the formation of a Union or Federation of British Borneo to consist of Sarawak, Brunei and Sabah. The Sultan

of Brunei should be accepted as its constitutional Head of State.

### **Merdeka Mission to London**

In order to implement the resolution on self-government and independence, in June the PRB with the assistance rendered by David Marshall, the former Chief Minister of Singapore, engaged the services of a well reputed constitutional lawyer from London. He was the late Mr. Walter Raeburn, Q.C. After two weeks stay in Brunei, Mr. Walter Raeburn Q.C. prepared and presented a comprehensive memorandum to the party. This Memorandum was later submitted to the British High Commissioner in Brunei, Sir Denise White for onward transmission to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London. It was indicated in the Memorandum that the PRB wished to send a delegation to London to support the contents of the Memorandum.<sup>18</sup> As arranged by Mr. David Marshall, the delegation left for London on the 5th of September. Members of the **Merdeka Mission** were Mr. A.M. Azahari, the President, Jasin Affandy, the Secretary-General, and Zaini Haji Ahmad, the Party Organiser. On the way to London, the Merdeka Mission stopped in New Delhi where they met Prime Minister Jawahal Nehru and other leaders of the Indian Congress Party including Madame Lakshmi Pandit. In Karachi, another point of stop, the delegation met Minister of Education, Mr. Zainuddin and other prominent politicians. Support given by these leaders to the Merdeka Mission boosted the morale of the delegates.

In London the delegation had two meetings with (a) the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies and (b) the Secretary of State (Allen Lennox Boyd) on the 26th and 30th of September respectively. Originally, Secretary of State Allen Lennox Boyd refused to meet the delegation. At the initiative of the Sultan, who was also leading a delegation in London, he finally met the delegation and quickly went over the gist of the Memorandum.<sup>19</sup> Allen-Lennox Boyd pointed out that the Memorandum should, in the first instance be submitted to the Sultan in Brunei and not direct to him. Secondly, he suggested the PRB withdraw its boycott of the proposed constitution which, in his opinion was undemocratic. If the PRB has any objection to the proposed constitution, it should present a petition to the Sultan for its amendment.<sup>20</sup>

On the other hand, the PRB delegation explained the reasons why

the Memorandum was submitted direct to the Colonial Secretary. As far as the PRB was concerned, reasoned A.M. Azahari, the decision to submit the Memorandum direct to London and launch the boycott was done due to the political condition in Brunei. By the first, he meant the door of consultation in Brunei was closed to the PRB and the decision to boycott was motivated by the desire to show the people's concern for democratic constitution.<sup>21</sup> Next A.M. Azahari took the opportunity to voice the party's objections to the proposed (draft) constitution. These were the Sultan's autocratic power, his position as Chairman of the Executive Council, and the method of election to the Legislative Council. As far as petitioning the Sultan was concerned, the PRB agreed to use the channel and would immediately instruct its constitutional adviser, Mr. Walter Raeburn, Q.C. to prepare the draft. A copy of the Petition would be extended to the Colonial Office before submission, concluded A.M. Azahari.

The PRB delegation had an audience with the Sultan of Brunei at Grosvenor House. During the audience, A.M. Azahari explained to the Sultan the reason why the Memorandum was sent direct to the Colonial Secretary. There was no malice aforethought, said A.M. Azahari. Far still any intention to by pass the Sultan and belittle his sovereignty, added A.M. Azahari politely. The move was political. As the Sultan was above politics, it was right for the PRB to seek political redress from London, and not from the Sultan. Then A.M. Azahari informed the Sultan of the party's intention to submit a petition on the proposed constitution and beg His Highness to consider the merits it deserved. The Sultan promised to consider the Memorandum. The meeting was cordial and ended in atmosphere of understanding and friendship.

The failure of the London Talk caused great disappointment to A.M. Azahari's personal expectation. He felt so miserable about it that an invitation to lunch by Sir Eugene Melville of the Colonial Office was turned down without any excuse. It changed A.M. Azahari's belief in the process of consultation. He proudly and frankly told his two colleagues of his doubts about British sincerity to give the people of Brunei their freedom and independence by constitutional means. Then agitated, A.M. Azahari talked about 'revolution' as the only way to seek political changes. It was the first time that A.M. Azahari and his two colleagues saw 'revolution' as the only alternative for the PRB. Repeatedly the

theory of **'anarchy, chaos and new order'** began to dominate their discussion. It might not be wrong to say now that, that was when the embryo of the 8 December Revolution came into being. But how and when it would be implemented had to wait for the right moment and circumstances. The occasion presented itself when an election to the Legislative Council was delayed for a year, and the issue of Malaysia polarised antagonistic feelings between the Government and the people.

Back at home the failure of the London Talk caused speculation. One story said the PRB was about to launch a coup. H.M. Saleh, the Vice-President, given the full mandate to lead the party in the absence of the President, became the object of surveillance. H.M. Saleh fanned anti-white feelings among the people fairly openly. Fortunately, no undesirable incidents ever took place. The Merdeka Mission returned to Brunei in mid October and with it normalcy returned.

Not long after the Merdeka Mission's return to Brunei, the PRB submitted a Petition and Observations on the proposed constitution to His Highness the Sultan.<sup>22</sup> The memorandum touched on the autocratic powers of the Sultan, including his power to dismiss any member of the Legislative Council except those appointed as ex-officio members. The Sultan's power to declare any member of the Legislative Council incapable to discharge his function was also the subject of the petition. Most important of all was the Sultan's power to "appoint 21 out of 28 members of the Legislative Council", and of course the right to veto the legislature's decision.<sup>23</sup> In brief the PRB asked the Sultan to give the people a truly democratic constitution in return for political stability.

The Second Congress of the People's Party of Brunei was held in April, 1958. The plenary session, like the previous year, was held in Bulkiah Cinema Hall, Brunei Town and delegates later on retired to the seaport town of Muara. During the Second Congress many important matters were discussed. This time the question of the Federation of British Borneo dominated the congress. The Congress adopted two resolution; one about the stationing of British troops in Kota Belud, Sabah and the other on the banning of three prominent Malay politicians from Malaya who had planned to attend the congress as observers. The trio were Encik Ahmad Boestamam, President of the People's Party of Malaya, Cikgu Harun bin



Mohammed Amin, Chairman of the People's Party of Singapore, and Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy, President of the Pan Islamic Party of Malaya. The trio were black-listed by the Singapore and Malayan Governments two years earlier and the Brunei Government acted on their advice, said the British Resident when pressed for an explanation by H.M. Saleh, the Vice-President of the PRB. The proposed constitution also did not miss the attention of the 2nd Congress which reaffirmed the resolution passed by the previous congress.

It is recalled here that in July, 1957 the British Resident, J.O. Gilbert announced the Sultan's intention to proceed with the constitutional proposal in the State Council and the four District Councils for responses. The draft contained the following points:

1. the Sultan was recognised as the Head of State and Muslim Religion in accordance with the Sunnah.
2. the Sultan was also to be the Chief Executive, and all executive powers were to be carried out in his name.<sup>24</sup>

Provisions were made for the establishment of three councils, namely the Privy, Executive and Legislative Councils. The Privy Council was to consist of five members, all ex-officio members and one or two to be nominated by the Sultan. They would hold office at the pleasure of the Sultan. Its functions would be, among others, to advise the Sultan on matters affecting the prerogative power of mercy, appointment of state dignitaries, and conferment of honours.

The Executive Council was called "Majlis Mesyuarat Kerajaan" — in Malay and to consist of a President, seven ex-officio members, a member from the Legislative Council and seven unofficial members from the four District Councils. All official and unofficial members of the Executive Council were to hold office at the pleasure of the Sultan but would resign after three years. They might be nominated again for a period of three years. Only the Sultan could convene a meeting of the Executive Council to discuss matters of state. The Sultan might not agree with the majority decision of the Executive Council. If he exercised this power, he was required to record his reasons for doing it in writing.

The Legislative Council was to be called the "Majlis Mesyuarat Negeri" in Malay. It would have:

1. a President
2. five ex-officio members
3. six official members who hold public office
4. fifteen (15) unofficial members, four of whom should represent minority interest not adequately represented in the council. Both official and unofficial members were to be nominated by the Sultan but they should be either a Brunei Malay or a British subject, 25 years old and not a bankrupt, or have alligence to a country outside the Commonwealth and be of sound mind.

The eleven (11) members to be elected by the District Councils had to be approved by the Sultan. <sup>25</sup>

The Legislative Council would not without the consent of the Sultan and the High Commissioner discuss money bills, or matters contravening any provisions of any treaty entered into between the Sultan and Her Majesty's Government, such as that involving security and the defence of the State. Finally, the Sultan could suspend or prorogue the session of the Legislative Council whenever he pleased. Both the Sultan and the High Commissioner had the right to address any session of the Legislative Council.

To sum up, the draft constitutional proposal did not differ much from the original one announced three years earlier where power of government was concentrated in the Sultan. On the contrary, the draft proposal announced by the British Resident seemed to legalise absolute monarchy in the institution of the state. It did not take any cognisance of the legitimate demands of the PRB. So it was natural for the party to response negatively to the draft constitutional proposal as announced by the then British Resident. The leaders of the PRB viewed the event as the end of the road. It gave the extremist group (wing) in the party strong reason to go underground and prepare for the final assault. It was during this period that the non-compromising wing in the party began to put strong pressure on A.M. Azahari to opt for the other alternative — the revolution.

It might be useful to mention briefly what PRB leaders meant by the theory of “**Anarchy, chaos and new order**” at this stage. Going through it quickly, the theory looked similar to most violent tactics employed by revolutionary forces the world over. It involved the creation of a “power vaccum” by violence and once created, a revolutionary group would take over the machinery of government in

the midst of a confused society. The application of the theory was refinement to suit local circumstances. There was a great difference between the accepted theory of violence and the tactics employed by PRB leaders during the Brunei Revolution of 8th December, 1962.

From the day it was founded until the day Malaysia was formed, the main object of the PRB was to restore the sovereignty of the Sultan of Brunei over his former dominions, Sarawak and Sabah. The restoration concept, however, did not mean the return of political status *anti bellum* i.e. before the coming of Western Imperialism to this part of the world. PRB leaders well realised that it would be an anachronism to restore absolute monarchy in 20th Century society. No sensible person would accept an absolute monarch ruling Sarawak, Brunei and Sabah again. But there was a strong belief that a monarchy, based on constitutionalism, might be a workable solution if presented in a democratic way. Therefore a government based on constitutional monarchy would be a welcome change for Sarawakians and Sabahans then, especially if the people were immediately franchised on attaining independence.

Always having these factors in mind, the leaders strongly believed that an entirely new society (new order) was the logical answer if the people of Sarawak, Brunei and Sabah were to form a new nation. This meant that a new political concept was necessary. That concept would be to abolish the national boundaries of Sarawak, Brunei and Sabah. A new political unit was to take its place in the form of the UNITARY STATES OF NORTHERN BORNEO or the NEGARA KESATUAN KALIMANTAN UTARA (U.K.K.U). Under the new order, no one country (either Sarawak, Brunei or Sabah) would take precedence against the others. All would have equal right under one political sovereign, the SRI MAHKOTA NEGARA — as the Sultan of Brunei would be called.

The next step was how the idea of a Unitary State could be established in the absence of an independent and appropriate forum. Development of political institutions in the three Northern Borneon territories was still in infancy. It would have taken at least a decade or so under the Colonial Administration before any kind of democratic forum could be established in these territories. Political urgency dictated that a kind of 'limited violence and chaos would be a pre requisite to any such new arrangement. The key to all this lay in

the institution of the Sultanate of Brunei — the only legal entity capable of bringing the changes envisaged. By Treaty and traditional rights, the Sultanate of Brunei was the only institution that could represent both the legal and political sovereigns in the fight for freedom and independence. Without the participation of the Sultanate of Brunei, all attempts to decolonise the area would be doomed to failure. Herein was the key for the PRB leaders decision to destabilise the government of Brunei on the 8 of December, 1962 and their attempt to take Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin **‘into protective custody.’**

The employment of the National Army of Northern Borneo — Tentera Nasional Kalimantan Utara (T.N.K.U) — was made solely on military considerations with limited objective. Being a party organised on nationalism PRB leaders did not want to be called blood thirsty and far less traitors to the throne. What they tried to create was a state of belligerency thereby hoping for United Nations intervention. Violence was employed at the very minimum casualty. Rules and practices of belligerency were strictly observed. There were no merciless killings. The military casualties on both side — British Army and TNKU speak for the truth. It was for this very reason that the conduct of the TNKU received ‘unofficial’ recognition by its adversary as a belligerent army, that none of its rank and file, at least in the State of Brunei was ever brought to court for trial. TNKU’s records as a belligerent army were, and perhaps still are as good as any fighting army given similar conditions and circumstances.

Taking Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin into **‘protective custody’** was intended to deprive the British, at least in the initial stages, of the right to take immediate punitive measures against the TNKU. The Anglo-Brunei Treaty of 1959 did not give the British Army the ‘carte blanche’ power to take military action in the State of Brunei. It would need Royal ‘invitation’ before it could even come into the state. The Royal ‘invitation’ was mandatory, and could not be invoked by any person but the Sultan. Even the British High Commissioner, less still his A.D.C. could not exercise that power of entry without written consent of His Highness the Sultan of Brunei. In the light of these circumstances, PRB considered it militarily expedient to put the Sultan in protective custody and take him to a safer place until United Nations intervention brought positive results. As the word ‘protective custody’ could have many interpretations (kidnapping

extortion and murder), A.M. Azahari himself, as the leader of the revolution specifically instructed his brother, Brigadier-General Sheikh Osman to be personally responsible for the safety and well being of Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin. He could not trust any other TNKU officers to carry out that sacred duty to the Crown, the SRI MAHKOTA NEGARA.

Whatever violence and chaos created by the Revolution of 8 December 1962 were calculated with minimum risks, human sufferings and public danger to the economic life of the nation. There was never any intention to prolong the state of war to the magnitude of confrontation, far still to turn Northern Borneo as a venue for blood thirsty soldiers of fortune attempting to keep the British Empire intact. Not a drop of British blood (civilians) was spilt, neither was any British property destroyed. If TNKU was blood-thirsty and revengeful, it could have murdered the 50 civilian prisoners of war it kept at the Seria Police Station during the first few days of the Revolution. TNKU was also capable of earth-scorching the Seria Oilfield to ashes if it wanted to, either during the occupation of the area or during its withdrawal when British Forces reoccupied the oilfield. This was never done simply because the leader of the Revolution did not want it to happen.

In a nutshell, what PRB leaders meant by the revolutionary theory of 'anarchism, chaos and new order' was simply to create an artificial state of disequilibrium in order to justify United Nations intervention at the earliest opportunity with the purpose of restoring peace and creating a **new order**. Although the theory failed to bring the expected result, it did bring a **new order** in the geo-political set up of the former British Borneo territories less than a year later. Not only did it accelerate the birth of Malaysia, but it also speeded the eventual independence of Brunei. The Revolution of 8 December 1962 was indeed a blessing in disguise for Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin. It helped to establish, once and for all, the question of Succession to the Darusalam Throne. It also established absolute monarchy and safely secured for the British permanent interests. But it destroyed democratic forces. This is the irony of the century.

## **The Constitution of 1959**

The promulgation of the Brunei Constitution on 29 September,

1959 did not mean that the people were assured of immediate self-government. General Election, as Section 27 (a) of the Constitution stipulated, would be held **two years** after the commencement. In order to prepare the people for the first test of democracy, the Government had to determine the category of people eligible to vote and stand as candidates. It had yet to appoint an independent body to conduct and supervise the election if it was going to be free and secret. Both needed the support of legislation. The first step was for the Government to enact a citizenship law — Nationality Bill to determine the category of citizenship. Having done that, the government had to appoint an Elections Commission. The main function of the commission would be to keep a register of voters and supervise election or by election as required by law. Due to many technical reasons and “unforeseen circumstances”, it took the government more than two years to mobilise the necessary machinery to conduct the election. Inevitably the election as stipulated by the Constitution could not be held within the specific period of two years. It had to be postponed to not later than September, 1962.

The new development, as it was mentioned in passing earlier, caused great disappointment to the leaders of the PRB. A joint-mass rally was organised by the People's Party of Brunei and the Brunei United Labour Front (Barisan Buruh Bersatu Brunei 4B) to protest over the delay. It took place on 25 July, 1961. The rally later on marched to the Residency where a Memorandum was handed over to Sir Denise White, the British High Commissioner in Brunei for onward transmission to the Colonial Secretary in London.<sup>26</sup> The Memorandum outlined the political programme of the PRB and emphasised the urgency of having it implemented without much delay. It urged the British Government to view the Memorandum as one representing the aspirations of the people of Brunei. In order to support the contents of the Memorandum, the PRB decided to send a delegation of four people to London and asked the Colonial Secretary if that was acceptable. The four men delegation did not go to London because the British Government was silent on the subject.

The Elections Commission was set up in December, 1961 when the Sultan announced the appointment of its chairman and three other members. It was followed one month later by the enactment of the Nationality Enactment, 1961.<sup>27</sup> Under the provision of this law, there are three categories of people who might apply for citizenship, namely:

1. Citizenship by operation of law
2. Citizenship by Registration, and
3. Citizenship by Naturalisation.

Every Brunei Malay born in Brunei, before or during the operative date has the right to become citizen under the first category. Other natives, whose parents were born in Brunei on or after the operative date may also apply for citizenship under the same category. Any foreigner born in Brunei may apply for citizenship under category two but he or she would have to fulfill certain legal requirements. Those who were not eligible to apply for citizenship under either category could still apply. He or she would have to submit his or her application in writing and qualify under the law.

In a separate but important development, former Malayan Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra announced his 'Malaysia' concept during a press conference organised by the Foreign Journalists Association of Singapore in May, 1961. Under the plan, he suggested the merger of the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, Brunei and Sabah into a kind of federation — later on known as the Federation of Malaysia. His idea was to shorten the process of decolonisation in the region. The Tunku's plan was received with mixed feelings. Those who had their own concept of intergration and independence, called the idea the brain-child of the British. Others thought the plan was 'acceptable' and a short cut to independence. PRB accepted the idea of intergration in principle but differed in its implementation. It wanted national intergration to be carried out in two stages. The first stage was to federate Sarawak, Brunei and Sabah into a federation and this was to be followed with merger with the Federation of Malaya, and Singapore. Due to the disparity in the political and economic developments between the Federation of Malaya and the three Borneo territories, this was the logical approach. The Sarawak United People's Party (SUPP) felt a federation of that nature ought to be preceded by self-government, if not independence. The Party Negara of Sarawak (PANAS) accepted the idea with one reservation: independence before merger.

Initial opposition to the merger concept came out of several reasons. One was the fear of Malay domination. The other was the fear among people of the Borneo States that they might lose their racial identity, and be subject to the socio-cultural subjugation of

the non Muslim natives by over-zealous Muslims. The semi-political Sarawak Youth Front or Barisan Pemuda Sarawak (BPS) saw the concept contrary to its President's grand idea of 'Borneasia' — a kind of political unit of Sarawak, Brunei, Sabah and Indonesian Borneo under the aegis of the Sultan of Brunei.<sup>28</sup> PRB wanted a political union known as the Unitary States of Northern Borneo — Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara — NKKU with the Sultan of Brunei as its **constitutional** Head of State. Any move to unite the Northern Borneo territories with another country would frustrate its concept of intergration and defeat the national mission to restore Brunei's sovereignty over Sarawak and Sabah. This was the political boundry of the PRB from which it would never retreat. It was also the foundation of a **Borneoan Nationalism**.

In July, Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra appeared in Brunei. He was there to accompany His Majesty, the Yang Di Pertuan Agong on an official state visit. During an audience with His Highness the Sultan of Brunei, he took the opportunity to explain the Malaysia concept in passing. As a result, the Sultan came out with a statement few days later to say the idea "was attractive" because of the social and cultural affirmaties between the two countries. This new development triggered a move by the PRB. A.M. Azahari immediately held talks with a Kadazan leader from North Borneo (Sabah), Mr. Donald Stephens and the Chairman of Sarawak United People's Party, Mr. Ong Kee Hui. On the 9 of July, the three leaders came out with a Joint Communique. They agreed to oppose the concept and said "elections should be held in the territories where an undertaking has been given by the Government concerned so that the legitimate aspirations of the people for political advancement can be satisfied."<sup>29</sup>

Motivated by his political success in Sabah, A.M. Azahari enlarged the scope of the struggle to the Federation of Malaya. Here he established solidarity with the leaders of the Labour Party of Malaya, the Peoples' Party of Malaya and the Pan Islamic Malayan Party. As a show of positive solidarism, in October the Barisan Sosialis Rakyat Malaya — Malayan People's Socialist Front — an alliance of the Labour Party of Malaya and the Peoples' Party of Malaya despatched a goodwill mission to the North Borneoan territories. Headed by Encik Ishak bin Haji Mohammad, the other prominent members of the delegation were Mr. Lim Kean Siew and Mr. V. David.<sup>30</sup> Earlier A.M. Azahari was in Singapore for dis-



cussions with leaders who shared common ideals on the question of self-determination and independence. At the end of the discussion a Joint-Communique, signed on behalf of the Malayan People's Socialist Front, the Socialist Front of Singapore and the People's Party of Brunei was issued. The leaders opposed any proposal "which does not advance the self-determination of the people. Any merger proposal should be made only after the right of self-determination had been vested with the peoples of Brunei, Sarawak and North Borneo", summed up the communique.<sup>31</sup> It endorsed the 'federation before merger' concept of the PRB.

On the 26 of January, 1962 a Conference of Socialist Parties was held in Kuala Lumpur. Organised by the Malayan Peoples' Socialists Front, the conference discussed the Malaysia concept in greater detail. The PRB delegation to the conference was headed by its Vice-President, Hapidz Laxamana. In a paper presented to the conference, Hapidz Laxamana said the people of Northern Borneo territories could not accept the Malaysia concept in its form and urged the conference to endorse his party's concept of the Unitary States of Northern Borneo (NKKU) as the logical substitute.<sup>32</sup> Without much ado, the conference adopted a resolution endorsing the concept in toto.

Towards the end of 1961, the Sultan of Brunei sent an observer delegation to the Second Meeting of the Malaysian Solidarity Consultative Committee (MSCC) held in Kuching, Sarawak between 18 - 20 December. Brunei was not represented at the first inaugural meeting of the MSCC held in Jesselton between 21 - 24 August. MSCC was formed as an Ad Hoc Committee by the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, Malaya/Singapore Branch during its meeting held in Singapore in July, 1961. Its aims and functions among others were to collect and analyse public opinions on the concept of Malaysia. The MSCC was also made responsible for the dissimination of the Malaysia concept to the people in the territories and to take the necessary steps for the realisation of Malaysia.<sup>33</sup> It was chaired by Mr. Donald Stephens of North Borneo, and its members came from the participating countries of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, Brunei (as observer) and North Borneo. They were either civil servants or members of their respective legislature. The Brunei observers were mostly civil servants with the exception of Mr. Lim Cheng Cho who represented the Chinese community. It was

singly unfortunate that the Peoples' Party of Brunei was not invited to send representatives to the MSCC. Mr. Donald Stephens tried to persuade the Brunei Government to invite the PRB to participate, as members of the Brunei delegation in the proceedings of the MSCC but the appeal fell on deaf ears.

In an unexpected move, the Sultan of Brunei nominated A.M. Azahari as a member of the Royal Commission appointed to study the Malaysia concept. Chaired by the Chief Minister (Menteri Besar) Dato Marsal bin Maun, other members of the Commission were Orang Kaya Gimang Anak Perait (representing the Dayak Community), Orang Kaya Pekerma Dewa Lukan bin Uking (representing the Dusun Community), Pehin Bendahari China Hong Kok Tien (representing the Chinese Community) and Cikgu Hashim bin Tahir as the Secretary.<sup>34</sup> A.M. Azahari was also appointed as a Unofficial Member of the Legislative Council. The new development opened up a new channell for dialogue between the Government and the PRB. A.M. Azahari himself in no time used the opportunity to air his party's view on the Malaysia concept.

The Royal Commission on Malaysia started its "fact finding" in January, 1962. A.M. Azahari immediately instructed all branch leaders of the PRB to take active part in the proceedings of the Royal Commission. Memorandum, petitions, letters and signatures indicating opposition to the concept were prepared and presented to the Royal Commission whenever it held open sessions in the four districts of Brunei between the 16 and 27 of January. The new strategy was so effective that, though the Royal Commission came out with a Report, the Government never published it for general information.

The decision not to publish was intended to avoid any embarrassment it might cause to Sarawak and North Borneo authorities. Publication might also influence public opinion in the same territories. A.M. Azahari who was morally bound not to say anything about the Report, gave no public statement. He did, however, tell his associates in confidence that about 95% of those who submitted their memoranda and petitions did not support the Malaysia proposal.

The climax of the Malaysia dispute emerged again in July, 1962. During a session of the Brunei Legislative Council held on the 18 of

July, the Sultan announced, to everybody's disappointment and disbelief, that the people had accepted the Malaysia concept in principle. It followed, he continued, that he also accepted the concept.<sup>35</sup> Acting as Chief Minister, Dato Marsal bin Maun moved a motion to support the Royal Speech.<sup>36</sup> The motion was adopted and that made clear the pro-Malaysia stand of the Brunei Government. Legally the PRB had no other recourse. It became clear to the party then the establishment of Malaysia had become fait accompli.

Three months earlier, A.M. Azahari tried to frustrate the Malaysia concept through the process of the legislature. During its April session, the Brunei Legislative Council deliberated a motion submitted by A.M. Azahari. It called for the historical recognition of the sovereignty of the Sultan of Brunei in the Northern Borneo territory of Sarawak, Brunei and Sabah. A.M. Azahari's motive in moving the motion was not only to oppose Malaysia but also for the first time introduce a political alternative to the concept. The new alternative was later on known as the Unitary States of Northern Borneo (NKKU) merging Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo as one political unit. It would not only restore the sovereignty of the Sultan of Brunei over Sarawak and North Borneo but also assured the establishment of a government based on Parliamentary Democracy. Unfortunately, Azahari's Motion was defeated, and A.M. Azahari himself was never to attend the assembly again. He withdrew from the Brunei scenario and went into 'self exile' in Johore Bahru, Malaya.

### **The General Elections of August, 1962**

The only and last home battle ground left to the PRB was the August Election of 1962. Under the leadership of Vice-President, Hapidz Laxamana, the party prepared itself for the final trial of power. In a political Manifesto issued for the election, the PRB made its stand on Malaysia very clear. It continued to oppose the Malaysia concept in "its present form" The Manifesto gave three reasons why the Malaysia concept was not acceptable to the party.

First the PRB was committed to the realisation of the Unitary States of Northern Borneo (NKKU) as a free and independent nation.<sup>37</sup> Secondly, it opposed Malaysia on the ground of national security and resilience. The PRB was never convinced that the

Federation of Malaya had the military capability to defend the Northern part of Borneo against external aggression. Logistically, the Malayan Navy which was meant only for coastal defence, would find it difficult if not impossible to provide military protection to these territories in the event of national emergency. Finally, the PRB could not subscribe to the Malayan Government's *laissez-faire* economic policy because it resulted in unequal opportunity between national and colonial interests. PRB wished to put more emphasis on social infrastructure such as cheap housing for the people, adequate health and medical services for the rural folk. The Federation of Malaya did not have the means, both financial and manpower, to carry out these projects nationwide. But with Brunei's financial surplus made available then, both Sarawak and North Borneo could share the social benefits, provided there was proper management at federal level and supported by the people. Briefly, the Manifesto said the PRB was quite prepared, if returned to power, to share Brunei's wealth with neighbouring Sarawak and North Borneo. The three North Borneon territories, in the opinion of the PRB, had greater economic potentials. Within a short span of time, a united Northern Borneo would become a strong and viable economic unit. What was needed then was an elected federal government to manage the wealth of the country in accordance with national priorities.

Nomination Day for the first ever General Election in Brunei was fixed on 21 July, 1962.<sup>38</sup> On that day, some 81 candidates filed their papers for the 55 contested seats at the district level. The PRB fielded 55 candidates, Brunei National Organisation (BNO) 8 candidates, Brunei United Alliance 1 and there were 17 independents. Thirty one PRB candidates were returned unopposed on Nomination Day.<sup>39</sup> Election Day was on 20 August. When the results were announced in the evening, the PRB candidates won all except one of the contested seats. The other candidate was an independent who won the Labu Ward in the District of Temburong. A week later, the independent candidate joined the PRB faction in the Temburong District Council. Under a collegiate system, 16 out of the 55 District Councillors elected later on became members of the 33 member Legislative Council constituted immediately after the election: The members were:

- |  |     |
|--|-----|
| 1. Awang Hapidz Laxamana — Brunei District Council | BDC |
| 2. Pengiran Metussin Pg. Hj. Lampoh —              | BDC |

3. Cikgu Mahmud Mohd. Saleh —	BDC
4. Pengiran Yusuf bin Pengiran Limbang —	BDC
5. Jasin Affandy —	BDC
6. Awang Tengah Hasip —	BDC
7. Othman bin Latif —	BDC
8. Zaini Haji Ahmad —	BDC
9. Akip bin Iman Ghani — Tutong District Council	TDC
10. Mohd. Idris Iman Said	TDC
11. Abdul Wahab O.K. Safar	TDC
12. Md. Deli Metassim — Kuala Belait Distric Council	KBDC
13. Momin bin Ahmad	KBDC
14. Ibrahim Abdul Ghani	KBDC
15. Lamzi bin Idris	KBDC
16. Mesir bin Keruddin — Temburong District Council	TDC

Out of the 16 elected Legislative Councillors, the Sultan nominated six (6) of them to become Executive Councillors — cabinet like members.<sup>40</sup> They were:

1. Pengiran Yusuf bin Pengiran Limbang.
2. Cikgu Mahmud Saleh
3. Awang Hapidz Laxamana
4. Mohd. Deli Metassim
5. Akip bin Imam Ghani, and
6. Mesir bin Keruddin.<sup>41</sup>

The first three Executive Councillors came from the Brunei District Council. The fourth from Kuala Belait District Council, the fifth from Tutong District Council and the sixth from the Temburong District Council. The new Legislative Assembly seemed to have represented a cross-section of the nation.

The defeat of the BNO and Alliance Party candidates was solely due to their pro-Malaysia stand and failure to understand the sentiments of the voters. The independent candidates lost because they had no political programmes or infrastructure. In any election, the chances of independent candidates winning seats is always slim. The only independent candidate, won in Labu Ward because he was popular among the estate workers of the Labu Village and not because the voters rejected the PRB or its programmes. The results

clearly showed that although the voters were not literate, they could form intelligent opinions and make wise decisions.

The overwhelming victory sent shock-waves across the country. It brought a ray of hope to the PRB leadership. It opened the door of constitutionalism again. Even fraternal parties in the Federation of Malaya and Singapore saw the PRB victory as of their own. Congratulatory messages came by the dozens. Most important of all, the victory proved the undisputed popularity of the PRB and also established its right to represent the people of Brunei in the eyes of the law. So when the newly constituted Legislative Council was scheduled to meet on the 5 of December, 1962 the PRB immediately instructed its members in the council to submit a number of resolutions on Malaysia, independence and the Unitary States of Northern Borneo. The anti-Malaysia resolution was to be tabled by Honourable Member, Awang Hapidz Laxamana, the Vice President of the party and leader of the opposition. His resolution briefly asked the British Government to postpone the Malaysia concept to be established in August, 1963. because it denied the right of the people to self determination.<sup>42</sup>

The second motion was to be tabled by Honourable Member, Jasin Affandy, the Secretary-General of the PRB.<sup>43</sup> It sought a full mandate for the PRB to bring the issue of Brunei's independence before the forum of the United Nations. Like the first motion, Affandy's motion was also rejected by the Speaker because, according to him the Assembly was not competent to discuss such matters. Another motion tactically intended to frustrate the Malaysia concept was one to be tabled by the Honourable Member, Pengiran Metussin bin Pengiran Haji Lampoh. His motion was to ask the British Government to restore the Sultan's sovereignty over Sarawak and North Borneo, recognise him as the constitutional Head of State of the Unitary States of Northern Borneo and to grant independence by 1963.<sup>44</sup> Unlike the fate of the first and second motions, the **Metussin Resolution** was returned to the proposer for amendment so that it would not affect the integrity of the Brunei Government. There seemed to be a room for compromise here. This could be due to the question of Brunei's sovereignty affecting the Colony of Sarawak. It was recalled that Brunei always viewed Limbang, the fifth Division of Sarawak as an intergral part of the state. Brooke's annexation of the territory in 1896 was never recognised by Brunei. It has always

become 'a thorn in the flesh' in the relationship between Sarawak and Brunei.

Other lesser important motions covered foreign investment policy, substantial increases in the salary of the rank and file of the Police Force, establishment of Co-operative Societies, educational policy, and an up to date labour policy that guaranteed the welfare and well being of the workers. There was even a motion asking the Brunei Government to engage the service of Ungku Abdul Aziz bin Ungku Abdul Hamid of the University of Malaya to survey the standard of living of the fishermen and farmers in the State, and to make recommendations on how to improve them. The motions were again strategically motivated to mobilise public support to counter the government's earlier decision to join Malaysia. Later observers thought the motions were a kind of political bribery to win public support for the coming Revolution of December, 1962. Whatever the reasons, the Political Manifesto was endorsed and accepted by the majority of the electorate and, as a covenant of social contract, was never disputed by any quarter including the British.<sup>45</sup>

The last strategical move made by the PRB, before it launched the Revolution of 8 December, 1962 was to submit a Joint-Memorandum to the United Nations.<sup>46</sup> The idea was to internationalise the anti-Malaysia campaign and at the same time to prepare the world body for the impending Unilateral Declaration of Independence. The Memorandum submitted on behalf of the Sarawak United People's Party, the Pasuk Memonggon Party of Sabah and the People's Party of Brunei reached the Secretariat of the United Nations on the 5 of September, 1962. It was discussed by the Sub-Committee on Petitions on the 14 of September which adopted it with the recommendation to the Committee of Twenty Four to grant a hearing to the petitioners.<sup>47</sup> Subsequent to the recommendation of the special committee, the Under-Secretary for Trusteeship and Information for Non-Self-Governing Territories of the United Nations invited the petitioners to send their representatives to New York before the 19 of September.<sup>48</sup> Due to the short notice given, Mr. Stephen Yong, the Secretary-General of the Sarawak United People's Party, acting on behalf of the petitioners, cabled the Under-Secretary on the 17 September informing him that it would be impossible for them to come as requested.<sup>49</sup> So the proposed hearing would not be held until the 7th Session of the General Assembly concluded its meeting towards the end of December.

The SUPP-PM-PRB delegation to the United Nations was to consist of Mr. Stephen Yong, Mr. Ong Kee Hui, Tahir Hassan (SUPP), A.M. Azahari, Jasin Affandy, Zaini Haji Ahmad (PRB), and Mr. O.K. Sundang (PASOK).<sup>50</sup> It was agreed then that the delegation would leave for New York by early December so that its members could have sufficient time to lobby for support. Unfortunately, the delegation's trip to New York was aborted by the Brunei Revolution of 8 December, 1962.

The Memorandum submitted to the United Nations covered a number of important matters concerning Malaysia. The Cobbold Commission Report, according to the Memorandum did not reflect the true feeling of the people of Sarawak and North Borneo. The claim that 1/3 of the people of Sarawak and North Borneo had accepted the Malaysia proposal without any reservation was not true and without any foundation. It could not be accepted by independent impartial observers," said the Memorandum. SUPP had collected 112,000 signatures of people who opposed Malaysia. Based on the fact that the people were in a state of fear and intimidation, the number of people who opposed Malaysia was quite significant. The Memorandum aired the dissatisfaction of the petitioners over the British Government's announcement to fix the date for the establishment of Malaysia on August 31. It viewed the communique as contrary to the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter and the Nine Cardinal Principles of the White Rajah of Sarawak.

It directed the attention of the United Nations to the result of the General Election held in Brunei on August 20. In that election, the PRB won 54 out of 55 contested seats. PRB opposed Malaysia strongly, and during the General Election the question of Malaysia was its main platform. According to the Memorandum "The findings of the Committee set up by H.H. the Sultan of Brunei was that the overwhelming majority of the people in the State is against the Federation of Malaysia"<sup>51</sup> In view of the facts mentioned, the Memorandum asked the United Nations to intervene on the question of Malaysia because it denied the people in that territory the right to exercise their right of self-determination and independence. Alternatively, the Memorandum suggested that there should be a plebiscite to determine the wishes of the people. For a free and



independent assessment, the plebiscite should be held under United Nations supervision.

To complete the political infra-structure of the impending Revolution, a high powered delegation hurriedly left for the Philippines in late October. The members were A.M. Azahari, Jasin Affandy, Pengiran Metussin bin Pengiran Haji Lampoh and Zaini Haji Ahmad. Except for A.M. Azahari, the other three delegates were members of the Brunei Legislative Council. Their membership made the delegation semi-official. As guests to Mr. Nicasio Osmena, legal adviser to the Sultanate of Sulu, the PRB delegation received overwhelming moral support from the members of the Macapagal Administration and Sultan Ismail Kiram. The PRB delegation met and discussed a wide range of political matters such as the Malaysian concept, the Unitary States of Northern Borneo (NKKU), and the Philippine's claim over North Borneo with a number of Government leaders including Vice-President, Emanuel Palaez.

On the question of the Philippine's claim over North Borneo, the delegation reminded the Vice President that the claim was against the principle of self-determination and would be strongly opposed by the people of the three territories. As a democratic country strongly committed to the principle of the right of the colonial people to self-determination and independence, the Philippine Government was asked to support the struggle of the people of the Northern Borneo territories at the United Nations viz. the Memorandum it submitted in early September. A copy of the Memorandum was extended to the Vice-President for his information and retention.

At the same time, the PRB delegation proposed a political formula to the Vice President. The formula was that the Unitary States of Northern Borneo would be prepared to recognise the **'proprietary rights'** of the Sultan of Sulu to a certain portion of North Borneo in return for political support at the United Nations. In an earlier discussion with Sultan Ismail Kiram, it was amicably agreed that the Sultan of Sulu would "surrender the rights and interest of the said heirs of the former Sultan of Sulu to certain portions of British Borneo which was the subject of a contract between the Sultanate of Sulu and the North Borneo Chartered Company in favour of the Sultan of Brunei in accordance with the expressed principles of Party Rakyat Brunei, Kalimantan Utara."<sup>52</sup> The Vice-President showed

keen interest in this formula and said he would go along with it. Vice-President Emanuel Palaez, indeed, made a public statement supporting the right of the people of the Northern Borneo territories to self-determination and independence just before the Proclamation of Independence for the Unitary States of Northern Borneo was made on the 8 of December, 1962.

## II. THE REVOLUTION OF 8 DECEMBER, 1962

There are many reasons for a Revolution. One commonly accepted theory is that revolutions are triggered by rising expectations and frustration. In so far as the Brunei Revolution was concerned, the **rising expectation and frustration theory** is the only reason. It took almost six years for A.M. Azahari and his colleagues to condition the minds of the people to reach the rising expectation level, and perhaps three years more to reach the point of frustration. All the political contradictions, right from the Brufico Affairs in 1953 to the Anti Malaysia campaign in 1961, were made with precise planning and implementation. The problem started when it came to the military operation. The Northern Borneo National Army — Tentara Nasional Kalimantan Utara — TNKU was never properly organised as a military organisation. With the exception of A.M. Azahari, who had served and fought in the Indonesian Revolution, none of its founding members had basic military training. The few who might have some knowledge of guerilla warfare acquired it from the reading of General Nasution's book - *Perang Gerila*. Experience wise, they were not far better. A handful, no doubt, might have gained some experience during their services with the Japanese Auxillary Forces — the *Giyugun* formed by General Yamawaki Masataka in 1944. But then their duties were to preserve public peace and order only. They did not have enough experience to confront a well established professional army of Great Britain. And it was doubly certain that 'nationalist feeling' alone was not enough. However that was the fact of the rank and file of the TNKU — they were but a group of nationalists whose only arm was the will to fight and exist as a free and independent nation.

THE PREAMBLE to the Provisional Constitution of the Unitary States of Northern Borneo — NKKU clearly said that independence

for a nation is not at all an evil objective. It is the fundamental right of every individual or society to be free and independent. It is in fact the sacred duty of every individual to fight for it. Taking this as a launching pad, then it was right for the people of Brunei (Northern Borneo) to proclaim their independence unilaterally. It is immaterial whether or not the people know the basic art of military operation, training and experience. The right to be free and independent overrides every consideration!

As for the choice of government, the people settled for a Unitary system. Vesting the legal sovereignty in the Sultan — SRI MAHKOTA NEGARA the people in real terms hold the political sovereignty thereby the power of government. The Prime Minister and Cabinet are responsible to the People's Consultative Assembly and remain in office for a period of 5 years.<sup>53</sup> In a slight departure from English Parliamentary System, the Prime Minister would be the highest authority over the Armed Forces. With the concurrence of the Peoples' Consultative Assembly, he would declare war, make peace and conclude treaties with other nations. Like any other government based on the parliamentary system, the Prime Minister would appoint and dismiss his cabinet ministers.

Legislative powers of the People's Consultative Assembly would be similar to the customs and practices in the Commonwealth, except in cases of national emergency when it would be necessary to suspend the body. In such cases the Prime Minister would have the power to make regulations. Any regulations made under such provision had to be ratified by the People's Consultative Assembly at its next meeting. Budgetary control and independence of the judiciary are guaranteed by the constitution. Being a secular state, freedom of religion would be protected by the constitution. So are the right to proper education, a decent life, and equality before the law. All natives irrespective of their race, creed and colour would automatically be eligible for citizenship of the Unitary States of Northern Borneo, including those whose parents originated from the Malay Archipelago but born in the three territories. Malay would be the national language, and the **Red and White with Green Triangle** (The Tri-Colour) would be the colours of the National Flag.<sup>54</sup> The National Anthem of the Unitary States of Northern Borneo would be called the KALIMANTAN UTARA MERDEKA.<sup>55</sup>

The Revolution was proclaimed at 2.00 a.m. on Saturday, 8

December, 1962. The place was near Sumur, a village across the Residency about 1.5 kilometer away. The proclamation was made by Secretary General, Jasin Affandy acting as Deputy Prime Minister, and Commander in Chief of the Northern Borneo National Army — Tentera Nasional Kalimantan Utara — TNKU. The ceremony was simple and witnessed by Brigadier-General, Sheikh Osman, Kol. Mesir Keruddin, Kol. Jais Haji Karim, Deputy Secretary-General, H.B. Hidup, Head, Department of Social, Abdullah Jahfar, and Lt. Ladis Puasa. Some 300 TNKU members were also present on guard. Other members of the TNKU were scattered all over the country ready to strike at their targets — police stations in Temburong, Muara, Bandar, Kilanas, Sengkurong, Tutong, Seria and Kuala Belait (in Brunei), Sipitang, Weston and Labuan (in North Borneo) and Limbang, Lawas, Sundar, Miri and Sibuti (in Sarawak). TNKU Captain Yusuf bin Haji Tamit, and Lt. Hasnan Cikgu Othman were in charge of the Brunei area, Lt. Col. Hamid Muhammad, Major Mumin bin Ahmad, Lt. Abdul Rahman and Lt. Sharifuddin took command of the strategic area of the Seria/Kuala Belait District, while Captain Pengiran Hitam, Captain Timpus Keruddin and Lt. Bukong Udan (a Murut) looked after the Temburong District. Lt. Haji Garip Penghulu Mangol and Sgt. Major Hamid Khan were in charge of Tutong District, Limbang Division in Sarawak was under the command of Captain Saleh Sambas and Haji Pilok, Sipitang District in Sabah was under Captain Lalim Seruddin and Sibuti in Sarawak was under Lt. Omar Tamin. With the exception of Miri, Labuan and Panaga (in Belait District), all the areas were occupied by TNKU immediately after the Proclamation was made. Heavy fightings were reported in Sibuti, Seria, Bandar Brunei, and Limbang. As local police personnel were not equipped for conventional operations, the resistance was minimum and within hours they gave in to TNKU officers. The only exception was Panaga Police Station which was manned and defended by Malayan Police on secondment duty in the Seria Oil Field area. It was the only Police Station that did not surrender to TNKU pressure and remained so until British occupying Forces liberated and reoccupied the district two days later.

The Declaration of Independence begins, quote “Whereas, in common with other subjected peoples of Africa and Asia, the people of Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo immediately at the end of the last war clamoured for the restoration of their inalienable rights to national freedom so long denied to them by Colonial Powers;

therefore, the acknowledged leaders of the people of Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo, meeting in the name of Liberty, Justice and Humanity have this day, December 8, 1962 solemnly proclaimed the absolute and complete independence of NKKU with Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin as the Constitutional and Parliamentary Head of State, hereby sincerely enjoin all freedom loving nations to extend to our new state their recognition and assistance in the name of international friendship and the Universal brotherhood of men.”<sup>56</sup>

The Proclamation of Independence further outlined the reasons why the people of Northern Borneo was forced to opt for revolution as the only alternative available to determine their inalienable rights to freedom and independence. The Proclamation was made as the inevitability of events and at the climax of the struggle of the people of Northern Borneo who could not stand British colonial policy and manipulative tactics any longer. The absence of goodwill and understanding on the part of the British was specifically cited as the main reason why the people decided to revolt.

The Provisional Constitution of the Unitary States of Northern Borneo, as described in passing, provided for the abolition of the former Colonies of Sarawak, North Borneo and the Sultanate of Brunei. In substitute, a new nation-state was born with the TRISILA as the State Ideology. The TRISILA embodied:

1. Belief in the Al Mighty
2. Nationalism and Universalism
3. Sovereignty, Social Justice and Humanitarianism.<sup>57</sup>

The National CREST is called the TRI EKA, or three in ONE unity. In the centre of the Crest is the Head of the Bull (Banteng) and on top of the head are three small yellow stars. A big star lies on top of the smaller stars. The Head of the Bull symbolises heroism, bravery and the “never to surrender” attitude. The three yellow stars represent the three territories in Northern Borneo, unified under a central government — the NKKU subscribing to a ‘broad nationalism’ as the big yellow star is to represent. The yellow colour of the stars represent national ideal to achieve justice and prosperity.

The new title of the Head of State of the Unitary States of Northern Borneo was no longer to be SULTAN. The new title was the SRI MAHKOTA NEGARA, to be always occupied by the Sultan of

Brunei, his heirs and successors in accordance with the principle of Constitutional Monarchy. As a unitary State, the rights of the minority groups were recognised and protected by the Constitution.

The NKKU was committed to a neutral and active foreign policy. The NKKU would not align itself to any block, Western or Communist but would cooperate with other nations in striving for world peace. The NKKU was not anti-British but strongly opposed British Colonial Policy. It would continue to remain a member of the Commonwealth of Nations and would join the United Nations Organisation on attaining independence. It would not nationalise foreign interests, including Shell Company, either in Miri or Seria, but warned the British of the possibility of suspending the monopoly concession granted in favour of friendly nations.

Looking back at the simple ceremony at Sumur on the early morning of December 8, 1962, it might be useful to mention here that the Proclamation of Independence was going to be officiated by His Highness Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin in the compound of the OMAR ALI SAIFUDDIN MOSQUE in Brunei Town.<sup>58</sup> The time was at 8.00 a.m. Saturday, 8 December, 1962, six hours after the TNKU army strike on important Police Posts throughout the country. According to plan, TNKU members under the command of Lt. Ladis Puasa would escort Deputy Prime Minister, Jasin Affandy and Minister of Labour, Hapidz Laxamana to Darul Hana Palace and there submit the Declaration of Independence to His Highness the Sultan. Then the Sultan would be invited, under protective custody, to Omar Ali Saifuddin Mosque at 8.00 a.m. and there would read the Proclamation of Independence to the crowd expected to assemble. Immediately after the ceremony the SRI MAHKOTA NEGARA accompanied by other cabinet ministers would withdraw to the interior for security reasons. Meanwhile, Brigadier Sheikh Osman Sheikh Mahmud and his men would retreat to Serdang, a village about 4 kilometers from Brunei Town. There he would build up his Brigade Headquarters to defend the State.

Unfortunately, events did not turn as anticipated. Brunei Police Headquarters was not taken over, and there was intense fighting at the Darul Hana Palace. The Deputy Prime Minister on the advice of TNKU War Committee, did not go to Darul Hana Palace and hand over the instrument of independence. Instead Minister of Education,

Pengiran Metussin bin Pengiran Haji Lampoh and Minister of Labour, Hapidz Laxamana went to the palace. On arrival at the palace, the NKKU Ministers were welcomed by a rain of bullets of the Brunei Police under the command of Commissioner of Police, A.N. Outram. The Commissioner of Police told both ministers that the Sultan had refused to meet them but said they should go and discuss anything with the Chief Minister, Dato Marsal bin Maun at his residency in Gadong. Without much delay, they proceeded to the Chief Minister's residence. At a road inter-section, both NKKU ministers saw the Chief Minister's car speeding towards town. They followed the car to the Brunei Police Station under cross-fire between TNKU men and policemen defending the station. The morning episode ended with both ministers taken into custody by the police. They remained in detention, without warrant and proper detention order until May, 1963 when Minister of Labour, Hapidz Laxamana was released under house arrest for over a year. Minister of Education, Pengiran Metussin was unfortunately transferred to the Detention Centre, Berakas and remained there as a guest of the Government for another two years.

Immediately after the TNKU failed to take the Sultan into **protective custody**, Commissioner of Police, A.N. Outram, under a provision of the Internal Security Bill declared a state-wide curfew from 6.00 p.m. to 6.00 a.m.<sup>59</sup> This was to enable the Police, and later on the British Army, to take security measures in areas threatened by TNKU forces, especially the Police Headquarters in Brunei Town, the Sultan's palace, the residence of the Chief Minister and the Panaga Police Station in the Oil Field town of Seria. Having found enough evidence to implicate the PRB in Revolution, the Chief Minister invoked the power given to him by the Internal Security Bill to ban the party with effect from the 10th of December. He also prohibited any members of the public from wearing party badges, flying the flag of the party, and keeping TNKU uniforms with immediate effect. The move was to isolate the party from the people. A campaign to check the movement of TNKU commanders was immediately launched. A reward of \$15,000.00 was offered for the arrest of Deputy Prime Minister and Commander in Chief of TNKU, Jasin Affandy.

The first military assistance for the Brunei Government came from the North Borneo Police Force.<sup>60</sup> The contingent arrived in Brunei

Town on the evening of December 8. The timely arrival of the Police Contingent from North Borneo boosted the morale of the local Police Force. It gave the much needed logistical support to the local Police in the defence of the Brunei Town area against repeated attacks made by the TNKU. The second wave of military aid came from Singapore. It arrived in Brunei Town twenty-four hours after the revolution broke out. It consisted of a full battalion of King Edward Gurkha Rifles under the command of Lt. Col. H.G.W. Shakespear. This was followed by another battalion from the HQ of British Forces in the Far East, the Queen Highlanders under the command of Lt. Col. W.G. MaHardy.<sup>61</sup> The battalion arrived in Brunei on the 10th of December. Further military assistance to arrive from Singapore consisted of a destroyer — Cavalier of 2,020 tons accompanied with two minesweepers, the Chawton and Finkerton. Not long after came the 23,000 ton commando carriers, the Albion and Bulwark. Accompanying them was the supply ships, Gold Ranger and Woodbridges, Haven (1,652 tons), two minesweepers, Wilkieston and Woolston (360 tons each) and two landing crafts with armoured cars.<sup>62</sup>

Admiral David Luce, the Commander of British Forces in the Far East stationed in Singapore arrived in Brunei on the 12 of December.<sup>63</sup> With him came a squadron of 17 transport planes loaded with Highlanders and 42 Commandos for dispersal to Labuan. Brunei and Anduki Airports. The reinforcement sent to beef up British Military position in the Brunei area alone. They were responsible for the recapture of Brunei Town, Muara, Tutong, Seria, Kuala Belait and Temburong (in Brunei), Limbang, Lawas, and Sundar (in Sarawak) and Sipitang and Weston (in North Borneo) from TNKU occupation. It was not an easy task for the British Forces to reoccupy these towns. In the battle to recapture Limbang Town, British Forces lost 5 commandos against 20 TNKU men. To give a rough ramification of the Brunei theatre, the Royal Air Force (RAF) within a period of two weeks air-lifted 3,209 army personnel, 113 military vehicles, 78 army trucks, 13 guard dogs, a refueler and half a million pounds of military supplies.<sup>64</sup>

The success of the British Military Operation against TNKU was the result of the private campaign of one military genius — British General Sir Walter Walker. He was the Commander of the 17th Gurkha Division in Nepal when the Brunei Revolution broke out on



the 8 of December. He arrived in Brunei on the 19 December taking over as Commander of British Forces in Borneo (COMBRITOR) from Brigadier Glennie who was recalled to Singapore. His immediate action on arrival in Brunei was to co-ordinate the work of the Military and Civil Authorities (Police and Special Branch) under one command.<sup>65</sup> Next he neutralised the military threats of the TNKU and extinguished the fire of revolution before it spread to Sarawak and North Borneo. Then he took measures to stop TNKU members from crossing the border into Indonesian Borneo.

When the main towns were already reoccupied by British Forces, Deputy Prime Minister, Jasin Affandy as the Commander-in-chief of TNKU tried to regroup and cross the border into Indonesia. His hope was to meet up with Colonel Yusuf Ampuan Daud, a TNKU high ranking officer, bringing reinforcements from the South of the border. Due to the thick jungle and absence of an accessible road to Tarakan, Deputy Prime Minister, Jasin Affandy decided to remain in Brunei and played the waiting game hoping "outside events would cause a quick withdrawal of the Security Forces to counter another threat."<sup>66</sup> So he and a handful of his close aides moved to Serdang, a village 4 kilometers North of Brunei Town. Another group under the command of Brigadier Sheikh Osman succeeded in penetrating British defence lines and settled in Kilanas, a black area 7 kilometers on the Brunei-Tutong Road. Both leaders failed to regroup their followers. Curfew imposed during the early days of the Revolution made it difficult for people to move about. The most active party members were arrested and put under detention. At the height of the revolution, most of the male population in Kilanas became guests of the government. Kilanas became famous because TNKU commanders such as Col. Jais Haji Karim. Captain Yusuf Metamit, and Lt. Garip Haji Mangol were from the area.

Brigadier Sheikh Osman met his death on the 17 April, 1963 during a shoot out with a platoon of Gurkhas in Kampung Bunut, along 5th mile of the Brunei-Tutong Road. During the gun battle, British Forces lost one Captain Bennett. Two days later, the younger brother of Brigadier Sheikh Osman, Sheikh Saleh was caught during a raid.<sup>67</sup> Not long after the death of Brigadier Sheikh Osman, British Intelligence received information on the whereabouts of Deputy Prime Minister, Jasin Affandy and his military aides. They were in hiding in a swampy area not far from his house in Kampung Serdang. On 17 May, a joint Police and Military operation, under the command

of Colonel A.N. Seagrim of the 2/7 Gurkha Rifle moved into the area. The mopping up operation ended with one dead, private Muntul and the arrest of Deputy Prime Minister, Jasin Affandy, who was seriously injured. Other arrests included Col. Mesir Keruddin, Captain Lalim (slightly injured on the forehead) and party Social Secretary, Abdullah Jahfar.<sup>68</sup> There were exchanges of fire before the arrest. With the arrest, the Brunei theatre was cleared of TNKU threats and conditions return to normalcy. The defeat of the TNKU, however, did not necessarily mean the end of military operation for the British Army. For the next two and half years, it had to fight a well organised and experienced army during the confrontation with Indonesia. It all began in April, 1963 when Indonesian regulars crossed the Sarawak border and attacked a police out-post in Tebedu, a small town near the Indonesian border.<sup>69</sup>

In order to understand the magnitude of the Indonesian Confrontation, the volume of fire power employed by the British Army during the period would enlighten the readers. In an article written for the magazine, the **Round Table** (January issue, 1969), Combritor Commander General Sir Walter Walker said, quote:

“When I arrived in December, 1962 the forces available consisted of one brigade of three battalions; six naval minesweepers, and some 15 naval and air force helicopters. When I left in March, 1965 there was a combined multi-national force consisting of:-

- a. coastal minesweepers and naval maritime police, and fast armed patrol boats, for both inshore and up-river patrolling.
- b. 70, later 80 helicopters (which was about 40 short of what was required, and some, 2,700 less than the troop carrying helicopters available in the South Vietnam War)
- c. about 40 fixed wing aircrafts.
- d. Four regular infantry brigades — totalling 13 infantry battalions — British, Gurkha, Malay, Australian and New Zealand.
- e. The equivalent of one battalion of SAS (Special Air Service Regiment), the squadrons being British, Gurkha, Australia and New Zealand.
- f. The equivalent of about two battalions of Police Field Force, or police jungle companies.
- g. About 1,500 border scouts, recruited from the indigenous

tribes.

- h. Two regiments of armoured cars, British and Malay,
- i. The equivalent of two regiments of Artillery — British, Malay and Australian,
- j. Two regiments of Engineers, British, Gurkha, Malay and Australian.
- k. An excellent joint communications system.”

Logistic supplies were mostly air-dropped, so was military personnel movement. The monthly average of supplies air-dropped was about 2 million lbs. That was the ramification of British Military involvement in the ‘undeclared war’ with the Indonesian Army. The Indonesian Confrontation, as we know, was made possible by the outbreak of the Brunei Revolution.

The characteristic of the Brunei Revolution seemed to have its roots in the social structure of the traditional society. The rank and file of the TNKU, unprofessional as they were, came from the ordinary strata of society. Their philosophy of life is simple but dogmatic in character. For centuries they lived under the influence of a class conscious society — in groupings. The system was unconsciously reflected in the PRB symbol of the Head of the Buffalo which binds its followers under the banner of the party. Such is the part of symbolism in the organisation of the party. By having a badge with the Head of the Buffalo in the centre, the tri-colour flag of Red, White and Green, the use of the slogan ‘Merdeka’, the holding of public rally all pointed to the group identity Syndrome (GIS). As to whether or not the (GIS) could become the foundation of a libertarian movement was illustrated by events of the Brunei Revolt. Its failure was not only caused by the military might of the British Army but also the absence of A.M. Azahari during the material time of the revolution. For all practical purposes and intents, A.M. Azahari should have personally lead the revolution himself, not staying in Manila where he was. His absence from the rank and file made them lose faith in the revolution. In the midst of confusion, they saw the Sultan as the new symbol of group leadership and, of course, the centre of loyalty.

## **Support For The Revolution.**

### **1. The Philippines**

In order to impress the British the seriousness of the struggle for freedom and independence, PRB leaders adopted a two-pronged strategy. The first prong was to mobilise the masses into a strong, united and disciplined movement with the objective of fighting for their freedom and independence. Having done that — the next move of PRB with its military wing, the TNKU, was to mobilise external support for the same cause. External support, if it were to sustain the legitimacy of intervention, needed internal strength. In reality, it was more important than anything else, as the Brunei Revolution had shown. During the early days of the revolution, NKKU-TNKU received unprecedented support from the Philippines and Indonesia. But it did not bring the expected result because the TNKU could not sustain its spontaneous successes. It was not long enough to justify United Nations intervention.

The first external support given to the revolution came from the Philippines. It came from many quarters with multiple interests. The support from the elite group, for instance, might have been due to the failure of the Macapagal Administration to settle the 'Sabah' dispute with the British amicably. The Philippines, it is recalled, had lodged a claim of sovereignty over a certain portion of Sabah in June, 1962. The claim was made as successor to the former Sultanate of Sulu which jointly-owned the territory with the Sultanate of Brunei. In 1878, the Sultanate of Sulu leased (the British said ceded) a portion of the territory to European adventurers (Sultan Bulkiah called them exploiters), Baron de Overbeck and the Alfred Dent brothers for a rent of Spanish Dollars 5,300 per annum in perpetuity.<sup>70</sup> The concessionaries in turned sold (the Philippine version sub-leased) the territory to the Chartered Company of North Borneo, which received the Royal Charter in 1881.

The Muslim support, on the other hand, came as a result of an earlier lobby made by PRB leaders who visited the Philippines in late October. It could have been motivated by common cultural heritage and historical background. Support from other pressure groups might have been given simply because of their commitment to democracy and respect for rights of the people to self-determination and independence. PRB leaders had created great impact on the Philippines public about their just struggle for freedom and independence. The impact became stronger when A.M. Azahari and Zaini Haji Ahmad declared the Revolution in Manila.

Generally the Philippines support came from a cross-section of the members of the public. A Muslim leader from the South, Congressman Rashid Lukman, said he was prepared to lead a volunteer force of 30,000 Muslims to march to the battle field in Northern Borneo.<sup>71</sup> The Governor of Sulu, Benjamin Abu Bakar openly said that the people of Sulu were with the Brunei revolutionaries.<sup>72</sup> Congressman Vincenzo A. Sagun from Zamboanga urged the Macapagal Administration to adopt a positive policy on the Brunei Revolution.<sup>73</sup> He suggested, among other thing, that the Philippines should sponsor the Brunei Revolution at the United Nations and be prepared to face the consequences. Earlier semi-official support came from the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of Congress, Godofredo P. Ramos. He urged the Macapagal Administration to extend support "short of military aid to the revolutionary movement in the British Colonies of Brunei and Sarawak."<sup>74</sup> Mr. Ignacio Lucina, the President of the Free Labour Movement, was ready to despatch a token force of 100 volunteers to fight side by side with the rebels against superior British Forces.<sup>75</sup>

By the middle of December, 1962 the Revolutionary Government of the Unitary States of Northern Borneo — NKKU — submitted an Aide-Memoire to the Vice President, Emanuel Palaez at Padre Faurer. It asked the Macapagal Administration to extend recognition," quoted the **Manila Times** of December 14. The universally accepted practice for the recognition of a new State was prepared to extend recognition to the request because "the revolutionary group had not fulfilled the requirements for recognition," quoted the **Manila Times** of December 14. The universally accepted practice for the recognition of a new State was the existence of an effective government having control over a specific territory.

According to Michael Leifer, in his monograph on the **Philippine Claim to Sabah**, the Philippines refused to extend recognition to NKKU because of a conflict of interests. The Philippines had a claim over Sabah. To recognise NKKU might mean having to drop the Sabah claim. The other likely reason could be a strong diplomatic pressure by the British and the American governments. The three countries were members of the South East Asia Treaty Organisation — SEATO. The Philippines needed SEATO more than anything else

as a protective umbrella against external threats. She was not prepared to abandon SEATO for the sake of supporting a liberation movement in Northern Borneo.

The Association of South Asia (ASA) also played a considerable role in the Philippines' policy towards the revolution. Both the British and the Americans viewed ASA as the bulwark against Communism in South East Asia. Therefore the survival of ASA was of prime importance to all concerned. It had to be saved at all cost. Any differences resulting from the Brunei Revolt between the partners of SEATO and the ASA group had to be solved, and a way out for the Philippines sought.

The Working Committee of ASA met in Manila in December, 1962 to discuss whether or not the ASA's Foreign Ministers meeting scheduled for Bangkok should proceed. Originally the meeting was to be held in Baguio City between 12 to 17 January, 1963 but was postponed at the request of Malayan Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman.<sup>76</sup> Although Tunku did not give any specific reason for asking for the postponement, it was reasonably inferred that the request was because of A.M. Azahari's presence in Manila.

Many Macapagal advisers thought the presence of Tunku Abdul Rahman at the proposed meeting was vital to ASA, and any failure to reach an agreement on it might bring negative results to ASA and the Philippines. Filipino statesmen have great respect for the Tunku. They believed he could influence the British on the "idea of sitting down with the Philippines to discuss the question of North Borneo, either from the point of view of our claim or security of the region vis-a-vis Communism," said the **Manila Bulletin** in its issue of 27 December. Prior to the Brunei Revolution, the Tunku was said to be quite prepared to mediate to the dispute between the British and the Philippines. His presence at the proposed Manila Summit (ASA Summit) would give President Macapagal the opportunity to discuss the Philippines claim as the future successor of British sovereignty in Sabah. The possibility of having direct discussion with the British, through the good offices of the Tunku, was another important consideration. All the possibilities would come to naught if Tunku refused to attend the ASA Summit.

The option open to the Philippines then was either Tunku with ASA or A.M. Azahari and his revolution. As always with the rule of

the game, national interest dictated and ASA was the logical choice. Thus began the decline of NKKU's cause in Filipino politics. Soon Under-Secretary of Defence, Jose M. Crisol politely urged A.M. Azahari to move his headquarters from Manila to Jakarta.<sup>77</sup> In fact this was what happened two weeks later. A.M. Azahari flew to Jakarta and established his government in exile there. From then onwards, the people of Northern Borneo no longer determined their future.

## 2. Indonesian Support

Indonesian support and involvement in the Brunei Revolution was for entirely different reasons. Historically, it was partly due to common cultural heritage and political fate shared as people subjected to Western Colonialism. The Sukarno-Hatta leadership had, at one time, greatly influenced the political thinking of not only the Indonesian masses but also the Malays who live in Malaya and Borneo. In a book entitled **Konfrontasi: The Indonesia — Malaysia Dispute, 1963 - 1966** (OUP), J.A.C. Mackie said "it has been reported that their photos (Sukarno-Hatta) were hung in many Malay and Borneoan households in the years before independence." Sukarno and other Indonesian leaders, observed Mackie further, even thought of incorporating Malaya and Northern Borneo as Indonesian provinces. Sukarno had at one time dreamt of unifying the region known as Nusantara under the aegis of Indonesia Raya.

Against this backdrop, a policy to liberate Northern Borneo had always been pursued by the Indonesian Government. It was essential for Indonesia to view the Northern territory as an area rightfully under her sphere of influence. It is for the same reason that Indonesia supported the nationalist movement in Northern Borneo. Therefore it was not unnatural for Indonesia to oppose any attempt to merge that territory with Malaya and Singapore. Merger might also cause disequilibrium in the composition of its population. It could easily increase the number of Chinese, and with it their political power in the proposed Malaysia. In his doctoral thesis, **The Indonesian Army in Politics, 1959-1971** (ANU, Canberra), Dr. Harold Crouch thought the close personal relationship between General Haris Nasution and A.M. Azahari played a role. General Haris Nasution had known A.M. Azahari for many years and he had shown sympathy

for "his aspirations for an independent state of Kalimantan Utara." (Crouch: 77).

Unlike the Philippines, the Indonesian support for the revolution was positive and came from the top leadership. The support came right from the President down to pressure groups at ground level. Speaking during a state banquet given in honour of the visiting Vice-President of Yugoslavia, Edwards Kardelji, at Merdeka Palace, Jakarta, President Sukarno praised the Brunei Revolution and regarded it as a manifestation of the New Emerging Forces which in his opinion, was bound to succeed in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism.<sup>78</sup>

The Indonesian support received official backing of the legislature. During its mid-December session, the Indonesian Provisional Peoples' Assembly — Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Sementara (MPRS) passed a resolution endorsing the government's policy to support the Brunei Revolution. The resolution said it was in conformity with the Bandung Principles and deserved assistance because it was the people's movement to liberate the Northern part of Borneo from colonialism and imperialism. Soon after the resolution was made public, many more mass and political organisations came out to make clear their support for the revolution.<sup>79</sup>

In early January 1963, Indonesia lobbied the United Nations to invite Prime Minister, A.M. Azahari to attend and present his case before the Decolonisation Committee scheduled to meet during the month. Indonesia Ambassador and Representative to the United Nations, H.E. Lambertus N. Palar was instructed to consult the American Ambassador, H.E. Jonathan B. Bingham on the possibility of granting an entry visa to Prime Minister A.M. Azahari if and when the Decolonisation Committee finally extended an invitation to him to present his case.<sup>80</sup>

The active support given by Indonesia to the government of NKKU made the British express concern and, led the Foreign Office to call the Indonesian Ambassador in the United Kingdom, H.E. Muhammad Diah to clarify his country's stand on the Brunei Revolt. Indonesia, however, refused to refrain herself from assisting the Brunei Revolution. In another public rally organised to celebrate Literary Day for the Greater Jakarta area on 27 of December,



President Sukarno made it clear again that Indonesia supported the Brunei Revolution. The sympathy shown by Indonesia, declared President Sukarno, was "a matter of principle and love for independence."<sup>81</sup> It was not influenced by the Communists, the President reiterated. It was a manifestation of the Bandung Principles. Any country who said the Indonesia support for the revolution was influenced by the communists was suffering from Communist phobia. President Sukarno concluded that all liberation movements fighting for their independence would receive Indonesian support, including Angola and Congo.

Indonesian support was not only confined to moral backing. On 27 of December, Ahmad Fadillah, the Permanent Representative of the NKKU and Chairman of the Committee for the Defence of the Revolution in Northern Borneo — Panitia Pembela Revolusi Kalimantan Utara — told a press conference that the first batch of volunteers had left for Brunei.<sup>82</sup> The volunteers consisted of Sarawakians, Sabahans and Bruneians residing in Indonesia. Although members of the Indonesian National Army — Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI), were known to have privately trained TNKU members as early as July 1962, it did not physically intervene until April, 1963. It took place on the 12 of April when a platoon of TNI regulars attacked Tebedu Police Station, First Division, Sarawak. A private of the Sarawak Field Force was shot dead and two others injured. The second incursion took place on the 23 April.<sup>83</sup> The target was a village called Gumbang. During the second incursion, two TNI regulars were shot dead and three others injured. With the Tebedu and Gumbang attacks, a period of Confrontation emerged between the British and later Malaysia and Indonesia. Between April 12, 1963 and June 19, 1964 a further 214 incursions were made by the combined TNI/TNKU forces. This was the kind of military conflagration which worried Combritor General Walker ever since he landed in Brunei.

Support given to the Brunei Revolution by the Malayan and Singaporean public were initiated by the Socialist and Islamic Groups. As early as December 12, the Socialist-Islamic groups made their stand clear on the Brunei Revolution. They gave unreserved support. When the Malayan Parliament met to discuss the implications of the Brunei Revolt, especially the Government's decision to despatch a platoon of the Field Force to protect Malayan residents in Brunei, 28 opposition members of Parliament (M.Ps) staged a walk

out of Parliament in protest against what the opposition members said was an interference in the internal affairs of Brunei.<sup>84</sup> Member of Parliament, Ahmad Boestamam speaking for the Malayan Peoples' Socialist Front said they would support any movement to wipe out colonialism. A similar stand was demonstrated by another Member of Parliament, Dr. D.S. Seenivasagam, the President of the Peoples' Progressive Party of Malaya.<sup>85</sup> Member of Parliament, Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Hemy, President of PAS said the uprising in Brunei was 'an internal affair' of the country and the government should not interfere.<sup>86</sup> Another Member of Parliament, Haji Hassan Adli, supported Dr. Burhanuddin's view and added that the Brunei Revolution was a political manifestation of anti-colonialism; he urged the British to withdraw and give the country immediate independence.<sup>87</sup>

The stand made by the Opposition Members of Parliament in Malaya was echoed by the Singapore Socialist Front (SSF). In a political statement, SSF said the revolution was popularly supported by the people. On the 23 of December, it held a mass rally attended by more than 10,000 people. Secretary-General of SSF, Lim Chin Siong spoke during the rally. He said that the Brunei Revolution reflected the aspirations of the "New Emerging Forces" and could not be suppressed by British military might. Chairman Dr. Lim Siew Choh said the revolution was part of a world wide revolution for freedom and independence.<sup>88</sup> The spontaneous support shown by SSF caused great alarm to the British Administration on the island and this led them to take stern preventive measures by detaining Dr. Lim Hock Siew, Lim Chin Siong, Said Zahari and the Putuchearys towards the third week of January, 1963. This pre-emptive action crippled the Socialist Group and closed the history of effective opposition in the Island Republic.

### **3. Afro-Asian Support**

The Third Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO) Conference was held in Moshi, Tanganyika, Africa between 4 to 12 February, 1963. During the Conference NKKU was represented by its Permanent Representative in Jakarta, Ahmad Fadillah. The Conference supported the Brunei Revolution because it opposed 'noe-colonialism' and urged 'all Afro-Asian nations' to render their full support to the struggle of the people of Kalimantan Utara

against any Federation which is now being intensively imposed by the imperialists in co-operation with their agents and recognise the newly proclaimed fully independent Unitary States of Kalimantan Utara.”<sup>89</sup> For historical record, it is not out of place to recall in passing that the PRB was the first political party accepted by AAPSO as a member organisation in the Malaya-Singapore-Northern Borneo region. This was decided during its Plenary Meeting in Jakarta about June, 1960. PRB’s acceptance by AAPSO was the result of personal lobby made by Ibrahim Yakob, the party’s accredited representative in Jakarta.<sup>90</sup>

Not long after the Third Conference of AAPSO, the Afro-Asian Journalists Conference (AJC) convened its first meeting in Jakarta between 2 and 30 April, 1963. NKKU’s Foreign Minister, Haji Muhammad Manggol represented his government during the conference. Once again the Afro-Asian forum provided the NKKU with the widest possible arena to solicit for the support of third world nations.<sup>91</sup> Judging from the statements made by representatives of the socialist and communist countries attending the conference, the NKKU struggle had developed into a new dimension. It had aligned itself to the Third World camp. It had joined the Socialism versus Colonialism dialogue. The Brunei Revolution had expanded the territory of battle against the evils of western colonialism and imperialism. Leading the onslaught was the Head of the Chinese Delegation. He told AJC participants of “The heroic struggle of the people of North Kalimantan for the right of national self-determination and independence and thus against falling into the trap of neo-colonialism.” The Brunei Revolution, said the Chinese Delegation, was another manifestation of the awakening of the Afro-Asian people. At the end of its conference, AJC passed a resolution of support for the NKKU. The Resolution said:

“This Afro-Asia Journalists’ Conference — AAJC — agrees and accepts the fact that the armed uprising against the British Imperialist and its plan is just because Imperialism, Colonialism and Neo-Colonialism are against the spirit of the Letter of Declaration of the United Nations and the Resolution 1514 (XV) of the United Nations General Assembly of the 14th December, 1960.”

The Resolution further supported the “Proclamation of Indepen-

dence of the Unitary States of Kalimantan Utara on December 8, 1962 and recognises the rights of the people of Kalimantan Utara to freedom and independence.”<sup>92</sup>

Further Afro-Asian support emerged again during the meeting of Afro-Asian Writers' Preparatory Committee held in Bali, Indonesian between July 16 - 21. Secretary-General, Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, T.D. Senayake said “The armed uprising that broke out in North Kalimantan has aroused deep sympathy and drawn the attention of the Afro-Asia people. Here let us salute the heroic fighters of North Kalimantan who are waging a determined struggle against colonialism.”<sup>93</sup> Similar support and tempo were repeated again and again during subsequent meetings and conferences of Afro-Asia affiliated organisations throughout Africa and Asia. In no uncertain terms, the Brunei Revolution was accepted by the socialist camp as a movement of the Afro-Asian people in their mission to eradicate colonialism and imperialism as the source of instability and danger to peace in Africa and Asia. That was how the NKKU won its new identity.

Despite the pomp and grandeur, the NKKU did not live to see its success much longer. The much publicised support and alignment could not prolong its existence. The revolution which was pre-mature and received limited support in Sarawak and Sabah was not able to give the legitimacy required by AAPSO to continue its patronage. A revolution without the support of the people, as it has always been and continues to be, will inevitably meet with failure. This is the verdict of history on NKKU.

### III. THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES, 1962-79

The aftermath of the Revolution left Brunei in a quandary. It caused a deep wound in the body politic of Brunei. In the search for survival, Brunei had to resume negotiations with Malaya on the terms of entry into Malaysia. On the 3 of February, 1963 the Sultan despatched a strong delegation for Kuala Lumpur to continue talks aborted by the Brunei Revolution. Headed by Deputy Chief Minister (Timbalan Menteri Besar) Dato Setia Pengiran Haji Ali bin Pengiran Haji Daud, the talks began on 5 February and dragged on until 3 of March. Deputy Chief Minister, Dato Setia Pengiran Haji Ali was

accompanied by Deputy Chief Secretary, Dato Setia Pengiran Haji Yusuf bin Pengiran Haji Abdul Rahim, Cikgu Jamil bin Umar, Lim Chin Choo, the Attorney-General, and the Sultan's constitutional adviser, Neil Lawson. The Malayan side was headed by Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak and assisted by Finance Minister, Tun Tan Siew Sin. Subject matters covered during the meeting ranged from constitutional, financial and other related matters, such as the status of the Sultan among the Malay Rulers, the Special position of the Brunei Malays, and the allocation of Federal seats for Brunei.

As always, Brunei's problem was and still is caused by wealth derived from black gold, oil. She has always jealously guarded her wealth. This was one of the earlier reasons why she flatly rejected federation with Sarawak and Sabah. The problem of wealth surfaced again during the Kuala Lumpur Talks. In no uncertain terms, Brunei made it clear that she would continue to control her money. Quoting the *Malayan Times* of February 6, Ranjit Singh in his book, **Brunei, 1839—1983: The Problems of Political Survival** (OUP) said Brunei would not want to join Malaysia if it meant "draining her wealth to the interests of Malaya." Malaya, in taking for granted that Brunei would finally join Malaysia, especially since the state had just faced political turmoil and was left with little choice, paid lesser attention to the 'who pays the piper calls the tune' issue during the round of talks. The Brunei delegation was under the impression that she would be allowed to retain whatever money was due from oil royalty. Even the Sultan, who was also in Kuala Lumpur to monitor the progress of the talks, thought it was the case. The Sultan was prepared to contribute a set sum of money to the Federal government. The figures mentioned was in the region of M\$40,000,000.00 per annum.<sup>94</sup> The contribution was to be voluntary and not compulsory. Malaya on the other hand insisted the contribution was going to be mandatory. The other area of conflict was who should control Brunei's revenue 10 years after independence. Brunei contended she would, but Malaya said it should revert to Federal treasury. The latter was the official view of the Ministry of Finance. Precedence of the Sultan of Brunei in the Rulers' Conference was not initially important. But in the later stage of the talks, it became prominent and was one of the causes of the dead-lock. The only consolation was on Brunei's representation in the Federal Legislature. Both parties agreed that whatever seats were allocated to Brunei would add to Malay voting power in the federal assembly. The Sultan thought in

the region of 10 seats. There was no doubt that the Malayan Government would gladly accept this figure. The irony of history, however, presented itself at the most opportune time. When Malaysia was officially formed on the 16 of September, 1963, Brunei, the first to support the idea of the Federation of Malaysia, opted to stay outside and began to chart her future in accordance with her national interest.

In early 1964, Brunei began to seek political solace from London. It started with a series of Constitutional Talks between the Sultan of Brunei and the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. The talks centred on how best political rehabilitation could be implemented in the absence of any participation from the people. After much bargaining, the talks ended with a broad spectrum of commitment to restore representative government, in stages with the final objective towards full independence for Brunei. The London Talks agreed that there should be elections held to the Legislative Council by March, 1965. The elections were to be followed by the introduction of ministerial form of government so that the elected representatives of the people would be given administrative and executive responsibility. "In the exercise of that responsibility these Ministers will be answerable to the electorate." The Sultan announced these programmes in a statement he made to the public on 8 August, 1964.<sup>95</sup>

As agreed, the second General Election (the first was in August, 1962) was held on 20 March, 1965. The General Election returned 10 elected members to the 20 Member Council. The ten elected members were:

1. Pengiran Haji Yusuf bin Pg. Haji Limbang,
2. Pengiran Damit bin Pg. Sungguh
3. Awang Ariff bin Munjun
4. Awang Haji Halus bin Abdul Samad
5. Awang Abdul Wahab bin Orang Kaya. Safar
6. Pengiran Majid bin Pg. Mohd. Daud
7. Awang Zainal Abidin bin Putih
8. Awang Mohd. Zain Seruddin
9. Awang Osman bin Sungguh
10. Pengiran Mohd. Yusuf bin Pg. Abu Bakar.<sup>96</sup>

At least seven out of the ten returned during the March Election were members of the banned PRB. Out of the seven, two served in

the former Executive and Legislative Councils as the party's representatives. They were Pengiran Haji Yusuf bin Pengiran Haji Limbang and Awang Abdul Wahab bin O.K. Safar. This shows that the PRB had still retained its popularity with the people. Pengiran Haji Yusuf bin Pg. Haji Limbang and Pengiran Damit bin Pengiran Sungguh later on became Assistant Minister of Posts and Social Welfare and Assistant Minister of Agriculture respectively.<sup>97</sup> They served the Government until the term of the Legislative Council expired in May, 1970 when the Assembly was suspended by the Sultan, never to reconvene.

By the time the reconstituted Legislative Council was suspended by the Sultan, none of the principal items in the London Agreement, referred to sometime as **The White Paper No. 4/65**, were implemented. Though the election was held, none of those elected ever served the 'cabinet' as full Minister, as stipulated by the White Paper. Another principal item never carried out in the spirit of the White Paper was one commitment to reduce the number of nominated members in the Legislative Council to a minimum "necessary for efficient government." Neither was there a "Constitutional Conference" held to review the ministerial form of government introduced, also another stipulated item.<sup>98</sup> By any accepted standard, the 'experimental responsible government' introduced immediately after the second General Election was but a farce of democracy. It was an experiment forced upon the Sultan to carry out. It was not surprising then that when the term of the second elected Legislative Council expired in May, 1970 not only did the Sultan suspend the assembly, but he also reverted to government by decree. This reversal to absolutism took place under the protective eyes of the Colonial government, whose betrayal of the sacred trust was unparalleled in the history of the Commonwealth of Nations.

In late August, 1964, the Chief Minister, Dato Marsal bin Maun paid an unexpected visit to the Berakas Detention Camp, Brunei. During the visit, he called on the VIP Quarters where leaders of the PRB were accommodated separately from the other detainees. The Chief Minister outlined the rehabilitative policy of the government where he promised to finally release everyone detained under the Emergency Law. It was the policy of the government, explained the Chief Minister to release everyone as soon as possible. But every one must be patient and wait his turn. He went on to brief the PRB

leaders of the Government's intention to return to democratic government and hoped to get the co-operation of the leaders to give their full support towards its achievement. In the most cordial attitude, the Chief Minister left Block J to visit the other detainees at the adjacent blocks.

The reaction of the PRB leaders to the unexpected visit was with mixed feeling. Some thought it was a kind of political ploy purposely done to pacify the anti-establishment attitude of hard-core leaders. Others thought it was a manifestation of a new policy to appease or buy over the moderates. In order to find out the real purpose of the visit, PRB leaders in Block J (the VIP block) held private discussions where every one was free to state his view independently. Chaired by Zaini Haji Ahmad, the discussion last several hours, studying the pros and cons of the Chief Minister's statement made during the unexpected visit. Finally, a decision was made to 'view the government's new policy with open mind' and three leaders, Secretary-General, Jasin Affandy, Party Organiser, Zaini Haji Ahmad and Sheikh Saleh Sheikh Mahmud were given the task of drafting a letter of submission and undertaking for the Chief Minister. The letter of submission was to include (a) pledge of loyalty, (b) willingness to participate in the political rehabilitation of the country, and (c) to co-operate fully and unreservedly to denounce foreign interference in the national affairs of Brunei. The letter dated 31 August, 1964 was signed by the following leaders.

1. Mesir bin Awang Keruddin
2. Mohammad Yasin bin Awang A. Rahman
3. Awang Osman bin Latif
4. Awang Momim bin Ahmad
5. Zaini Haji Ahmad
6. Awang Abdullah bin Jahfar
7. Haji Garip bin Dato Haji Mangol
8. Abdul Hamid bin Muhammad
9. Jais Haji Karim
10. Awang Lalim bin Haji Seruddin, and
11. Sheikh Saleh bin Sheikh Mahmud.<sup>99</sup>

The first five signatories were members of the defunct Legislative Council (Mesir Keruddin was also a member of the Executive Council). The last five were members of the Brunei District Council



elected during the first General Election. The eleventh, Sheikh Saleh bin Sheikh Mahmud held no position in the party. But he is the brother of Sheikh A.M. Azahari and by virtue of that he was given the privilege to stay in Block J — the maximum security cell where leaders of the Revolution were accommodated.

The immediate response to the letter submitted by the PRB leaders was reconciliatory. On 20 October, 1964 three leaders of the PRB from Block J were sent to the Review Committee for the evaluation of their cases. Awang Momin bin Ahmad, Mesir bin Keruddin and Zaini Haji Ahmad appeared before the Review Committee chaired by Encik Isa bin Ibrahim (later on conferred with the title of Pehin and promoted to General Adviser to the Sultan). He was assisted by three other assessors. The Special Branch Officer in attendance was Inspector Abdul Rahman Abu Bakar, a seconded officer from the Malayan Police Force. The deliberation lasted thirty minutes. From Special Branch sources, the Review Committee recommended for the release of the three 'reformed' leaders. Their cases went to the Internal Security Council for a second opinion. At this stage the deliberation was both security and political. Chaired by the Chief Minister, Dato Marsal bin Maun, the other members were Deputy Chief Minister, the State Secretary, the Chief Police Officer (represented by the Head of the Special Branch), Combritor Commander, General Sir Walter Walker and the British High Commissioner. At the end of its deliberation, the Internal Security Council endorsed the recommendation of the Review Committee and recommended for the immediate release of the trio. The D.D. was supposed to be on the 24th of November, 1964.

Under the provision of the Emergency Orders, 1962 the Chief Minister was empowered to detain any person who he thought threatened the security of the state. The period of detention is two years, renewable for another period of two years if his release would still present a security threat to the state. Conversely, he was also empowered to release a person detained under the Emergency Order if the detention of such person was no longer desirable. Acting within the perimeter of the Emergency Order, the Chief Minister had the power to release the three detainees recommended by the Review Committee and the Internal Security Council. But as the three detainees were rated as Black and classified as VIP, the Chief Minister referred the matter, as a course of accountability to the Sultan for approval. Unfortunately, for reasons best known to the

government, the recommendation of the Review Committee was ignored and the three detainees and their colleagues continued to linger in the Berakas Detention Camp for another period of eleven (11) years until the **great escape that shocked the world** on 13 July, 1973.

### **The Peoples' Party of Brunei in exile**

The decision to escape was made as the last hope to breathe Allah's free air again. It was a painful decision with high risk and a lot of political implications. It was taken when all other recourse, both legal and administrative, were exhausted. The last venue of redress tried were the Court of Law and Petitions to the Sultan. The first was initiated by Zaini Haji Ahmad by means of the Motion of Habeas Corpus heard in the High Court of Brunei on 24 May, 1971.<sup>100</sup> The other was to petition the Sultan by a number of detainees submitted throughout the month of April, 1973. In the former redress, the applicant sought to seek Court Order to declare his detention as illegal and ultra vires the Constitution. The contention was the Principal Order (the Emergency Orders, 1962) made in pursuant of Section 83 (3) of the Constitution of Brunei, 1959 was of no legal force because it was never, as required by Sub-Section 83 (7), tabled before the Legislative Council at its next sitting. The case was heard by Judge Rigby who dismissed it on a technicality without cost. The individual petitions submitted to the Sultan did not fair better. The Sultan refused to consider them according to Pehin Isa in his Memo addressed to the Supervisor, Berakas Detention Camp. The Memo closed all hope of freedom through the proper channel.<sup>101</sup>

The man who master-minded the Great Escape was none other than Sheikh Saleh Sheikh Mahmud. A man who was detained 13 days after his marriage in May, 1963, Sheikh Saleh was (and still is) one of the most intelligent graduates of the 'Peoples' University of Berakas Camp'. Being the brother of A.M. Azahari, and close aide of the late Brigadier General Sheikh Osman, Sheikh Saleh was the typical victim of circumstances. His long years in detention camp with hard-core TNKU leaders won him much respect from the leaders of PRB and that qualified him to be the natural choice to organise the escape. It was the best kept secret of the decade and it made the Supervisor of the Berakas Detention Camp collapse on hearing of escape on the early night (7.45 p.m.) of 13 July, 1973.

The Great Escape opened a new perimeter of struggle. It made it possible for the PRB leaders to pick the pieces left by the Revolution and build up a new political infra-structure on which the Qua Vadis to New York was launched. The first move taken by PRB leaders, Jasin Affandy, Zaini Haji Ahmad, Osman Latif, Umar Tamin and others, was to rehabilitate the party in exile. On the 7 of May, 1974 the PRB was officially reactivated and the following leaders were elected as its Executive Committee Members in exile:

- |   |                                 |
|---|---------------------------------|
| 1. President                                | A.M. Azahari                    |
| 2. Acting Vice President.                   | Zaini Haji Ahmad                |
| 3. Secretary-General                        | Jasin Affandy                   |
| 4. Acting Treasurer                         | Sheikh Saleh Sheikh Mahmud      |
| 5. Head, Bureau of Politics                 | A.M. Azahari                    |
| 6. Head, Bureau of Economic                 | Zaini Haji Ahmad                |
| 7. Head, Social Bureau                      | Umar Tamin                      |
| 8. Head, Department of Information.         | Osman Latif                     |
| 9. Head, Dept. of Organisation              | Samad Jamaluddin.               |
| 10. Head, Bureau of Agriculture and Fishery | Yusuf Ibrahim                   |
| 11. Head, Youth Section                     | Murshidi Othman                 |
| 12. Head, Women's Section                   | Rogayah bte. Abd. Rahman        |
| 13. Committee Member                        | Ghani bin Metussin              |
| 14. Committee Member                        | Ak. Hamzah Pg. Saleh            |
| 15. Committee Member                        | Ahmad bin Yakob. <sup>102</sup> |

Eleven years in a state of suspension left much to be done, both in and outside the country. Initially, in December 1973 the **Ad Hoc-Committee for the Independence of Brunei** in Kuala Lumpur (a committee formed before the PRB was reactivated) appointed Dr. Saedon Othman, a Brunei student graduate at Al Azhar University, Cairo as its Permanent Representative in Egypt and the Middle East.<sup>103</sup> His instruction was to renew the party's fraternalism with the Afro-Asian Group (AAPSO) and Arab Embassies with the purpose to solicit their moral and material support.<sup>104</sup> A similar strategy was adopted for Indonesia. The PRB representative in Jakarta was Jais Abbas, the former Ambassador extraordinary of NKKU during the revolution. His mandate was issued in late November.<sup>105</sup> Like Dr. Saedon Othman, Jais Abbas was to lobby the Indonesian Government for recognition and at the same time to revive contact with former allies and sympathiers. PRB also sought the assistance of long time supporter, Ibrahim Yakob who was appointed by the PRB as its Indonesian representative back

in 1960. With the Cairo and Jakarta representation actively reactivated, the next move was to lobby international organisations and the community of nations for more meaningful results.

The first wave of appeals and petitions were addressed to the Commonwealth of Nations Secretariat in London. Dated 17 March, 1975 the Memorandum of appeal first outlined the history of the party, its struggle and achievements in the years preceeding the Brunei revolution.<sup>106</sup> Next it asked the leaders of the Commonwealth assembled in Kingston, Jamaica, West Indies "to counsel the British Government to convene a Tripartite Conference between the Sultan of Brunei, the Peoples' Party of Brunei and Her Majesty's Government with the view to path the way for an early self-government and independence for Brunei." Copies of the Memorandum of appeal were extended to H.E. Gough Whitlam, the Prime Minister of Australia (2 April, 1975), H.E. Maulana Adi Amin, the President of Uganda (14 April, 1975) and H.E. Naduyu Mualimu Julius Nyere, the President of United Republic of Tanzania (14 April, 1975) with covering letter invoking their high offices to render support to the PRB's cause before the assembly of Commonwealth statesmen in Kingston.<sup>107</sup> The spontaneous campaign brought tremendous impact on Commonwealth leaders and it made it easier for the PRB to solicit their support at the United Nations Committee of Twenty-Four some few months later.

Laying the political infra-structure outside the country was not that difficult if compared with the task of mobilising the support back at home in Brunei. The task was made difficulty by the distance between Kuala Lumpur and Bandar Seri Begawan. A decision was then made to open up a staging post in Limbang, Sarawak, East Malaysia the nearest place where the party could make physical contact with its former members in Brunei. Limbang was also used as a recruitment centre to enlist party membership as well as a base to disseminate information about the movement. In no time, the **Limbang Corridor** saw a number of refugees seeking "refuge in Sarawak because they feared arrest, despite assurances by the Government that no one would be arrested. At the same time, 'subversive' leaflets were distributed in Bandar Seri Begawan and Belait District. The leaflets called on the people to support the Party Ra'ayat (People's Party) which is led by Mr. A.M. Azahari, the leader of the 1962 rebellion."<sup>108</sup> In July, 1974 a group of 22 college students crossed the border to Limbang for fear of arrest also. By

end of the year, the Limbang Corridor became regular channel for ex-party leaders and followers to communicate with PRB leaders in exile. In early Jan, 1975, Mesir bin Keruddin, a former TNKU Commander and Executive and Legislative Councillor detained since May, 1963 but released in December, 1974 by the British for the purpose of countering PRB's influence, crossed to Limbang and joined the campaign for independence.<sup>109</sup> Col. Mesir bin Keruddin, it is recalled, was a founder member of the TNKU and was arrested after the shoot out in Serdang with British Forces on 17 May, 1963.

The revival of the PRB in Limbang shocked the British-backed Administration in Brunei. As a counter measure, the Government released a number of PRB branch leaders to counter attack the position of the PRB leaders across the border. It was the old game of 'divide and rule' policy. This led to a new era of mini-confrontation between Kuala Lumpur and Bandar Seri Begawan. The latter accused the former of conspiring with PRB to subvert the established Government of Brunei. The war of words continued until 1976 with the climax at the United Nations.

Back to the international campaign mounted by the PRB leadership in exile, a delegation of three immediately left for the Middle East drumming up support from OIC members. Led by A.M. Azahari, and accompanied by Jasin Affandy and Zaini Haji Ahmad, the delegation left for Jeddah on 27 April, 1975.<sup>110</sup> In Mecca the PRB delegation was graciously received by the Secretary-General of Rabetat Al Islamy, H.E. Sheikh Mohammad Selah Al-Ghaza. The Rabetat Al Islamy is a Saudi Government funded body organised to help Muslims' organisations to achieve fraternal brotherhood among the Islamic community all over the world. Discussions featured on Islamic revival and the role the PRB could contribute to Islamic unity in South East Asia. The Secretary-General expressed concern and sympathy towards the struggle of the Muslim brothers in Brunei and offered financial assistance. In recognition of the PRB's struggle, the Secretary-General wrote an open letter of appeal to all Muslim leaders to extend their fraternal support to the leader of the party in his quest for freedom and independence.<sup>111</sup>

Next on the itinerary was Cairo, Egypt. In Egypt the PRB delegation was sponsored by AAPSO. In a special and extended meeting of its Central Committee, the PRB delegation was honoured to brief the meeting on the struggle of the party. As leader of the

PRB delegation, A.M. Azahari, spoke of the Memorandum submitted to the United Nations in March. He asked AAPSO members to lobby their governments "to support our cause at the United Nations when the Special Committee of Twenty Four discusses the question of Brunei's independence during the current session."<sup>112</sup> In a Joint Communiqué between the Secretary-General of AAPSO and the President of the PRB issued after the meeting, Youseff El-Sebai, Egyptain Minister of Culture cum the Secretary-General urged "all freedom loving peoples of the world specially the Afro-Asian members and the Arab country members of the United Nations to give their moral and material support to the People's Party of Brunei in its just struggle against British colonialists."<sup>113</sup> On the question of detainees still in preventive centre, the communiqué demanded their immediate and unconditional release. It welcomed PRB's fight for independence of Brunei and to join the "ranks of non-aligned nations, completely free from foreign bases."<sup>114</sup> Both sides supported the struggle of the Palestinian people to freedom and independence. It also declared their positions clear and stood behind the liberation movement in Namibia, Zimbabwe and Lesotho the communiqué concluded. On the 6 of May, 1975 Secretary-General, Youseff El-Sebai despatched this telegram to the Decolonisation Committee of the United Nations: "AAPSO supports Brunei People's Party struggling for liberation on Brunei. Request you invite the representatives for hearing by you."<sup>115</sup> While in Cairo, the delegation also met H.E. Syed Mohammed Mahmud Riyad, Minister for Foreign Affairs, H.E. Syed Kamal Abu El Magdi, Minister of Information, and H.E. Syed Marie, the Speaker of the Egyptain House of Representatives.<sup>116</sup> All agreed to support the PRB struggle and endorsed recognition to the party having its representative office established in Cairo. The Foreign Minister even agreed to offer a scholarship to Dr. Saedon Othman if his stipend was withdrawn by the Brunei Government.

The PRB delegation then continued on its journey to Algeria and Libya. In Libya, the delegation was a guest of the Government of the Jamariah Arab People's Republic of Libya. The reception extended to the delegation was extraordinary. Following previous arrangement, the members of the delegation had an audience with Minister of Labour and Special Function, H.E. Syed Abdul Ati Al-Obeidi, in his office on May 7.<sup>117</sup> Preceded by fraternal and cordial greetings, the delegation put down its case before the Minister who showed

great sympathy for the bitter struggle of the leaders of PRB. The Libyan Government, explained Minister Al-Obeidi, always supported liberation movements and Brunei was no exception. To prove the sincerity and positive stand of his government, Minister Ati Al Obeidi immediately assigned two experienced officers of the Foreign Office to assist the PRB delegation in its international lobby for support and recognition. One of them was Dr. Ali Tiriki, with whom the delegation spent the last few days of its stay in Tripoli. The Libyan Government also agreed to sponsor the party's mission to the United Nations.

The next stop was Algeria. Like in Tripoli, the delegation (Jasin Affandy and Zaini Haji Ahmad only) was given a warm and friendly reception by the government party, Front Liberacion Nationale (FLN). A fraternal meeting between the PRB delegation and Syed Jelloud Melaika, Chairman Foreign Affairs Bureau of the FLN, took place in the latter's office along Ahmad Germoul Street, Algiers.<sup>118</sup> As spokesman of the Non-Aligned Nations in the area, H.E. Syed Jelloud extended his party's strong support to the PRB and promised whatever moral and material assistance needed. He assured the PRB delegation that his country's representative at the United Nations would be immediately instructed to lobby and support the party's cause when it was presented before the United Nations forum. H.E. Syed Jelloud invited the President of the party to visit Algeria so that he would arrange an audience with Foreign Minister, H.E. Syed Abdul Aziz Boutifika, who was then abroad. The combined support given by the North African countries strengthened the credibility of the party among the progressive forces in the Afro-Asia group. It facilitated more and further support for the party whenever they solicited for moral and material assistance abroad.

To wind up the campaign in the Middle East, the PRB delegation visited Baghdad, the capital of Iraq.<sup>119</sup> As guest of the Arab Baath Party and 'Peace Council of Iraq' the delegation, as usual, briefed H.E. Mr. Zahir, the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Arab Baath Party on the objectives and struggle of the PRB since the day it was formed. The solidarity shown by the Arab Baath Party was no less than that extended it by Cairo, Tripoli and Alger. Like their Arab brothers, the Iraqis immediately notified their Permanent Representative, H.E. Mr. Araim at the United Nations, of the party's memorandum and the forthcoming arrival of

its delegation to New York. H.E. Mr. Araim was a member of the Committee of Twenty Four and had unprecedentedly championed the cause of the party in the Committee II leading to the adoption of the Brunei Consensus by the Fourth Committee in November, 1975.

The PRB delegation (A.M. Azahari, Jasin Affandy and Zaini Haji Ahmad) arrived in New York on July 10. They stayed in The Commodore, Park Avenue 42 Street, about 15 minutes walk to the United Nations Headquarters. This was the best accommodation the PRB delegation could afford during their month's stay in New York. The arrival of the delegation in New York was the first sign of success. The PRB delegation faced entry visa problems with the American Embassies in Jeddah and Kuala Lumpur. While still in Jeddah, the delegation tried to apply for an entry visa for the United States from the American Embassy there but was turned down on 'technical grounds. As the country of origin of the members of the delegation was Kuala Lumpur, the American Embassy insisted the members get their entry visas from its Kuala Lumpur office. In actual fact, it was just a typical British-American conspiracy to defeat the purpose of the PRB to present its case before the world forum, the United Nations. It was a question of a *quid pro quo* arrangement the British made with the Americans. Without the visa problem, the PRB delegation would have presented its case much earlier. Only after repeated cables to Richard Walthens, Secretary of Sub-Committee II, who informed the State Department in New York of the official invitation extended to the PRB by United Nations, and the late Tun Razak's personal intervention did the American Embassy in Kuala Lumpur issue the entry visas.

The PRB sent its Petition to the Secretary-General, the United Nations on 20 March, 1975.<sup>120</sup> It was acknowledged by Mr. M. Tanaka, on behalf of the Secretary-General on April 25.<sup>121</sup> Two weeks earlier, the PRB Secretariat in Kuala Lumpur despatched 24 copies of its Political Manifesto to the Secretary-General via its office at Jalan U. Thant, Kuala Lumpur for distribution to the members of the Committee of Twenty Four.<sup>122</sup> The strategy was to brief the members of the situation and political development in Brunei since the State of Emergency was declared in December, 1962. This was very important tactical move because some members of the committee knew little about the political progress of Brunei. The British Government, which was under obligation to report on the situation in Brunei, as required by Article 83 (3) of the United



Nations Charter, had painted a rosy picture of Brunei. Repeated United Nations requests to send a fact finding mission to Brunei were given a cool response. The British claimed Brunei was already a self-governing territory and therefore was not within the purview of the United Nations.

The PRB diplomatic offensive at the United Nations started with an audience with Mr. M. Koffi Kouame of Ivory Coast Permanent Mission to the U.N., the Chairman of Sub-Committee II.<sup>123</sup> This was on the morning of July 11. In the afternoon, it was a working lunch meeting with Muslim members of Committee II; representatives of Afghanistan, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, and Syria. In the late afternoon, the PRB delegation paid a courtesy call on Mr. Richard W. Walthens, the Secretary of Sub-Committee II at his office, main United Nations Building.<sup>124</sup> A separate lunch was also arranged with Non-Aligned members of the committee..They were Mr. Yilma Tadesse of Ethiopia, Mr. Satya M. Nandan of Fiji, Mr. A.K. Budhiraja of India, Dr. Vincent David Lasse of Trinidad and Tobago, Mr. Nimrod Lagoe of Tanzania, and Indonesia's Djoko Joewano. The delegation also met Australia's Mr. Duncam Campbell, the Co-Chairman of Sub-Committee II. It was Mr. Campbell's draft proposal on Brunei which finally became the consensus on Brunei and endorsed by the Committee of Twenty-Four.<sup>125</sup>

Throughout the working discussions with the members of Sub-Committee II, the PRB delegation employed the following strategies: strategies:

1. to emphasise the point that Great Britain was still the **master** in Brunei. Whatever she claimed outside Brunei, including the United Nations forum, she was still involved as a colonial power in the state. To convince Committee members, PRB delegation produced a prepared list of British officers still serving in key-positions in Brunei.
2. It wasted no time on trivial matters but concentrated on important issues in supporting its case before the Committee. The PRB delegation realised that the British were good in exploiting smaller issues to their advantage.
3. PRB delegation clearly stated its objective in requesting for the hearing. It stressed the need of having a United Nations

supervised election in Brunei. This meant that the delegation asked UN to put pressure on the British-backed Administration in Brunei to prepare for democratic processes in the state.

4. The PRB Political Manifesto and relevant documents were distributed to each member during these meetings.
5. In order not to repeat mistakes made during the Brunei Revolution, where PRB was projected by the British as wanting to overawe the established power of the Sultan, PRB delegation took careful pains not to bring in the Sultan of Brunei into the limelight, neither was Malaysia ever mentioned during the meetings. Whatever Malaysia did, like granting political asylum to leaders of the PRB, was done in the context of her international duty and obligation as a member of the international community.

The strategies adopted worked fairly successfully to the advantage of the party as a liberation movement demanding for reasonable demands enshrined in the United Nations Charter. So when the PRB delegation presented its case before Special Sub-Committee II on Tuesday afternoon, 15 July 1975, it was a case of plain sailing.<sup>126</sup> The Committee agreed to adopt the Australian draft on Brunei. It went on to the Committee of Twenty Four for endorsement two weeks later.<sup>127</sup>

The Brunei Consensus read:

**“The Special Committee, having examined a petition concerning the situation in Brunei, and having heard the important statement made by A.M. Azahari, President of the People’s Party of Brunei (Partai Rakyat Brunei — PRB) which, in the 1962 elections received 98 per cent of the votes cast, endorses the call by PRB for immediate tripartite talks between the administering Power, the Sultan of Brunei, and PRB with the object of fixing a date for the independence of Brunei and the holding of free and democratic elections under the supervision of the United Nations; and decides, subject to any directives which the General Assembly might give in that connexion at its thirtieth session and taking into account the results of the consultations between its Chairman and the Administering Power concerned, to continue consideration of this question at its next session with a view to the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December, 1960 and other relevant**

With a little extra campaigning among the Bulgarian, Chilean, Cuban, Danish, Russian, Tunisian, Iranian and Tanzanian representatives who sat in the Committee of Twenty-Four, the recommendation of the Special Committee II on Brunei was adopted by a consensus. The adoption was taken during its 244th Meeting on 24 July, 1975.<sup>129</sup> This ended the first phase of the delegation's work at the United Nations. The next phase would be to get the support of the Fourth Committee during its Thirtieth Session in November.

Throughout its session in 1975, the Committee of Twenty-Four countries were still considered as 'non-self-governing' territories or dependencies of Great Britain. Among them were Belize, Bermuda, **Brunei**, Gibraltara, Monstserrat, New Hebrides, and about a dozen of smaller islands (St. Helena, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Solomon Islands, Turks and Cocos Islands). The PRB delegation returned to Kuala Lumpur elated with its new found identity and victory at the world forum, only to come back again in early November.

During the second visit to New York, the PRB delegation stayed for less than two weeks. There was less lobbying to be done. It was just a question of a follow up work to explain its cause to countries sympathetic to the party. According to U.N. agenda, the Fourth Committee would hear the Petitioner from Brunei (PRB delegation) on the 13 November, 1975. Malaysia, the champion of democracy in South East Asia, gladly fathered the Brunei Resolution. It was co-sponsored by Egypt, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Liberia, Libya, Somalia, Syrian Arab Republic, Turkey, and United Republic of Tanzania. Singapore for reasons of wishing to keep the bridge to Brunei open did not agree to co-sponsor the Malaysian resolution and this was the only set-back the party faced at the United Nations. Although Singapore's stand did not change the pattern of votes, it caused a kind of diplomatic embarrassment to both Malaysia and Indonesia. Professor Tommy Koh, Singapore's Permanent Representative at the United Nations, however, assured Zaini Haji Ahmad that Singapore would say 'YES' to the Malaysian resolution when voting time came. The final count of votes was: 90 for, 14 abstentions and none against. Those who abstained were Canada, Germany (F.R.), Ireland, Netherland, Israel, Sweden, Belgium, Italy, Luxembourg, Denmark, France, and the United States of America and two others.

America and two others.

In his petition to the Fourth Committee of the United Nations, A.M. Azahari as leader of the PRB delegation reviewed the political development of Brunei during the last two decades (1956 - 1976).<sup>130</sup> He told them of the role of the party as the flag bearer of democracy. The PRB was registered in 1956, said A.M. Azahari and enjoyed the overwhelming support of the majority of the people of Brunei in its struggle for freedom and independence. In the first August election 1962, the PRB received 98% of the votes cast. Efforts were made by the PRB to seek political changes through democratic means but was continuously frustrated by the colonial power and this led to the Unilateral Declaration of Independence by armed revolution on 8 December, 1962.

Caught in the cob-web of its manipulative game, the British colonial authority in Brunei declared a State of Emergency. In order to sustain its repressive policy, it brought in 10,000 British Imperialist and mercenary forces to mop up party members into preventive detention, without trial and subjected them to barbarous punishment and torture. Having done that, the British negated any responsibility in the internal affairs of Brunei. And in 1970, the British government advised the Sultan to suspend the Legislative Council and continued to run the state under emergency law. The signing of the 1971 Agreement between the Sultan and the British Government, which purportedly gave Brunei the status of self-government, only served to perpetuate colonial rule, continued A.M. Azahari.

The leader of the PRB delegation went on to say that Brunei was still a colonial appendage of Great Britain. Most key-posts were still held by British officers. The Special Branch, still under the control of Britishers, was specifically challenged because after the adoption of the Brunei Consensus it continued to arrest and put people under detention. The PRB was denounced by the administering Power and tried to substitute it with another but was futile. A.M. Azahari reasserted the party's undivided loyalty to the Sultanate despite an attempt to insinuate it as having bad intention on the royal family.

The British refusal to give independence to Brunei was easy to explain said A.M. Azahari. "Twenty per cent of the income of the

Shell International Group is extracted from Brunei alone. Our country only gets 30% in revenue from the total production of oil which this year is estimated at about seven billion Brunei dollars.”<sup>131</sup> Shell Company continued to exploit Brunei’s oil wealth and there was no attempt to diversify the economy of the country into other related oil-based industries, like petro-chemical industry. Furthermore, most of Brunei’s surplus were invested in London in order to sustain British ailing industries, while millions of dollars were spent in the country on white elephant projects which brought no benefits to the people. About 25% of the national budget was allocated for defence. And a further substantial fund was for security and intelligence activities. The amount of money allocated could be better spent for agriculture, education and other social facilities.

Next A.M. Azahari commented on the British Verbatim Note of 16 September 1975 (A/10269) addressed to the Secretary-General. The Note referred to the PRB delegates as “persons styling themselves as leaders of the Peoples Party of Brunei.”<sup>132</sup> A.M. Azahari repudiated the statement and went on to prove that the PRB leaders are the true leaders of the people of Brunei. A.M. Azahari cited the London Talk in London 1957, and the results of the 1962 elections as examples of the leaders’ credential to speak for the people of Brunei.

A.M. Azahari then commented on the British view that Brunei was never a colony of Great Britain. Quoting the terms and powers of the British representatives (variously called Resident and High Commissioner) under the number of treaties entered upon by the Sultan of Brunei and the British Government since 1888 up to 1971, whereby the Sultan must ask and act upon the advice of the British adviser on matters affecting the government of the state, (except Malay custom and Islam) all pointed to negate the British claim. The Note Verbatim, according to the PRB leader was “but also blatant lies deliberately conceived to mislead this Assembly and world opinion.”<sup>133</sup> If the British claim had any truth, A.M. Azahari asked why had 10,000 British troops been despatched to Brunei during the height of the revolution? If, indeed, Great Britain had no responsibility in the internal affairs of Brunei, what was the justification for the British to invoke Article 3 (2) of the Brunei Agreement, 1959 allowing her to send British troops to suppress the national uprising.<sup>2</sup> With that A.M. Azahari, on behalf of the PRB,

asked the Fourth Committee to give its unreserve support to the just struggle of the people of Brunei against British domination and exploitation. "We sincerely hope that you will help us to make our dream a reality because to put it bluntly, our fate is in your hands," <sup>134</sup> concluded A.M. Azahari in his plea for international support had understanding.

Malaysian Ambassador, H.E. Encik Khir Johari, speaking on behalf of the co-sponsors, Egypt, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Somalia, Syrian Arab Republic, Turkey and Tanzania, of the Brunei Resolution said his country "views such a demand as perfectly just and legitimate and fully consonant with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples."<sup>135</sup> It was consistent with Malaysia's Foreign Policy of supporting people fighting for their freedom and independence. Malaysia did not agree with the British contention that Brunei was already enjoying a degree of self-government, and that she had no responsibility in the internal affairs of the state. Self-governing, in Malaysia's view implied "the existence of political parties, of legislative Councils or Assemblies and some form of a ministerial government by the elected representatives of the people."<sup>136</sup> If what the Malaysian representative said was the standard measurement for self-governing state, then Brunei had not definitely enjoyed self government. Without any intention to apportion or incriminate the British, Ambassador Encik Khir Johari hoped the British would not misunderstand (misconstrued) Malaysia's intention to move the Brunei resolution and asked the British to use her influence in helping the United Nations to find an acceptable solution in Brunei.

Ambassador Encik Khir Johari continued to explain the main thrust of the Brunei Resolution, specially paragraph (3) which called upon the administering Power (Great Britain) to facilitate "expeditiously the holding of free and democratic elections by the appropriate government authorities in Brunei."<sup>137</sup> In any such election, the Malaysian Chief Delegate felt, the United Nations should be consulted and to supervise it if it was to be truly free and democratic. The British-backed Administration in Brunei should also lift the ban on political parties and at the same time allow the "return of all political exiles to Brunei so that they can participate freely and fully in the elections."<sup>138</sup>

Another speaker on the Brunei Resolution was its co-sponsor, H.E. Mr. Araim of Iraq. He said his delegation strongly supported the PRB because it enjoyed the support of the people. He invited the United Kingdom to implement the terms of the General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV) and to take measures for the holding of free and democratic elections under the supervision of the United Nations. He also asked the ban on political parties to be lifted and exiles be allowed to return and participate in the election. He said he was happy to be associated with the draft Resolution of Brunei (A/AC. 4/L. 1103). It was a response to the appeal made by A.M. Azahari, as the spokesman of the people of Brunei, he concluded.

The Brunei Resolution, adopted by the Fourth Committee on the 13 of November, 1975 read:

**“Calls upon the Administering Power, consistent with its responsibility as the Administering Power, to take all steps within its competence to facilitate expeditiously the holding of free and democratic elections by the appropriate government authorities in Brunei in consultation with and under the supervision of the United Nations in accordance with the inalienable rights of the people of Brunei to self-determination and independence, and further calls, prior to the elections, for the lifting of the ban on all political parties and the return of all political exiles to Brunei so that they can participate freely and fully in the elections.”<sup>139</sup>**

The adoption of the Brunei Resolution, climaxed the PRB's struggle. It laid down the principles of succession and legitimacy to any government that was to be established in Brunei. Any departure from the letter and spirit of the Brunei Resolution — A/AC. 4/L. 1103 — would be liable to dispute and will remain so until the political sovereignty of the people of Brunei is recognised through the ballot box.



*Former NKKU Foreign Minister,  
H.E. Haji Muhammad Manggol with H.E. President Sukarno  
of Indonesia, Bogor, Indonesia, 1964.*



## NOTES

1. The text of speech: Mr. A.M. Azahari during the inaugural meeting of the People's Party of Brunei.  
Document No. 1/PRB/56.  
Dated 22 January, 1956.
2. Letter PRB Letter No. 5/PRB/56. Dated 31 January, 1956.
3. Letter from the Registrar of Society. Ref: BRO/8/4025/56  
Dated 31 January, 1956.
4. Sultan's Memo to Private Secretary. Dated 9 June, 1956.  
Document No. 5/PRB/56.
5. Letter from the Registrar of Society. Ref: BPD. 25/34.  
Dated 11 July, 1956.
6. See Chapter I. Document No. 2/PRB/56. Dated 22 January, 1956.
7. Letter from the Registrar of Society. Ref: CPO. 6/1/56.  
(Receipt No. 477552) — Dated 15 August, 1956.
8. Strait Times, 29 January, 1953.
9. Ibid.
10. The Report: Supreme Court of Sarawak, North Borneo and Brunei. Criminal Case No. A/5/53. Dated 13 March, 1953, p 29.
11. Mingguan KRITIK — Malay Weekly Magazine — Dated 14 November, 1956, p 1.
12. Report: First Congress of The People's Party of Brunei.  
Dated 24 March, 1957.
13. Strait Times, 7 June, 1953, p 1.
14. The Sarawak Tribune, 13 May, 1953, p 1. .
15. The Sarawak Tribune, 18 May, 1953, p 1.
16. Letter from Pengiran Yusuf bin Pengiran Haji Abdul Rahim to Zaini Haji Ahmad,.  
p 4, para 22.
17. See Chapter I. Document No. 6/PRB/57. June, 1957.
18. Ibid.
19. See Chapter I. Document No. 9/PRB/57. Dated 30 September, 1957.

20. Ibid, para 14.
21. Ibid. Para 14.
22. See Chapter I. Document No. 18/PRB/58. Dated 23 January, 1958.
23. Ibid, para 1 (c).
24. See Chapter I. Document No. 7/PRB/57. Dated 27 July, 1957.
25. Ibid, para 2 and 3.
26. See Chapter I. Document No. 12/PRB/61. Dated 4 August, 1961.
27. Brunei Nationality Enactment (No. 4/1961). Dated 12 December, 1961.
28. Micheal Leigh, *The Rising Moon*, Sydney University Press, Sydney. 1974, p 28.
29. Joint Communique between Donald Stephens, Ong Kee Hui and Mr. A.M. Azahari. Jesselton, 9 July, 1961.
30. *Suara Bakti* (Malay Weekly), Budaya Press, Brunei. No. 3. Tahun 1. Dated 3 November, 1961, p 1.
31. See Chapter 1. Document No. 13/PRB/61. **Date not available.**
32. See Chapter I. Document No. 14/PRB/62. Dated 26 January, 1962.
33. Report of the Commission of Inquiry, North Borneo and Sarawak, Knebworth House, London. 1962, pp 118-119.
34. *Suara Bakti* (Malay Weekly), Budaya Press, Brunei. No. 12. Tahun 1. Dated 5 January, 1962. Also Zaini Haji Ahmad, *Pertumbuhan Nasionalisme di Brunei, 1939-1962*. Thesis Sarjana Sastera, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1983, p 143.
35. Titah Sir Omar Ali Saifuddin, *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka*, Brunei. 1971, p 132.
36. *Pelita Brunei*. Tahun 7. Bil. 15. Dated 1 August, 1962, p 1.
37. See Chapter I. Document No. 15/PRB/62. Dated 20 August, 1962.
38. Zaini Haji Ahmad, *Pertumbuhan Nasionalisme* - 1983, Op Cit.
39. *Pelita Brunei*. Tahun 7. Bil. 17. Dated 5 September, 1962, p 6.
40. Zaini Haji Ahmad, *Pertumbuhan Nasionalisme* — 1983, Op. Cit.
41. Brunei Annual Report, 1961/1962, p 174.
42. See Chapter I. Document No. 18/PRB/62. Dated 3 December, 1962 (a).
43. Ibid. Motion (b).

44. Ibid. Motion (d).
45. See Chapter I. Document No. 15/PRB/62. Dated 20 August, 1962.
46. See Chapter I. Document No. 16/PRB/62. Dated 9 September, 1962.
47. See Chapter I. UN. Document No. A/AC. 109/L. 36. Dated 14 September, 1962.
48. Letter from D. Protitch, Under-Secretary for Trusteeship and Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, United Nations. UN. Document A/AC. 109/PET. 46. Dated 8 October, 1962.
49. Ibid.
50. Zaini Haji Ahmad, *Pertumbuhan Nasionalisme*, 1983, op cit.
51. See Chapter I. Document No. 16/PRB/62. Dated 9 September, 1962.
52. Letter from Kiram Corporation to His Highness the Sultan of Brunei assigning its interest in North Borneo (Sabah) in accordance with the principles of the PRB. Dated 28 November, 1962. Document No. 17/PRB/62.
53. See Chapter II. Document No. 20/PRB/62. Dated 8 December, 1962.
54. Ibid. Article 34.
55. See back page.
56. See Chapter II. Document No. 19/PRB/62. Dated 8 December, 1962.
57. See Chapter II. Document No. 21/PRB/62. Dated 8 December, 1962.
58. Zaini Haji Ahmad, *Pertumbuhan Nasionalisme*, 1983, op. cit.
59. *Manila Chronicle*, 10 December, 1962.
60. Tom Pocock, *The Fighting General: The Public and Private Campaign of General Sir Walter Walker*, Collins, London, 1973, p 142.
61. *Utusan Melayu*, 9 December, 1962, p 1.
62. Nazaruddin Lubis, B. A. *Pemberontakan di Kalimantan Utara*. Jajasan Gotong Rojong, Djakarta, 1962, p 44.
63. Zaini Haji Ahmad, op. cit.
64. Harold James & Denise Sheill-Small, *The Undeclared World*. University Malaya Co-operative Bookshop Ltd., 1979, p 28.

65. Ibid. Page 46.
66. Ibid, p 47.
67. Interview with Sheikh Saleh bin Sheikh Mahmud in Kuala Lumpur, 2 January, 1982.
68. Interview with Col. Mesir Keruddin (TNKU. retired) 4 March, 1982.
69. Indonesian involvement in East Malaysia, Jabatan Penerangan, Malaysia. 1963.
70. Narciso Ramos, Philippine Brings The Sabah Dispute to the United Nations, 15 October, 1963.
71. Manila Chronicle, 16 December, 1962.
72. Manila Times, 21 December, 1962.
73. Manila Bulletin, 24 December, 1962.
74. Ibid. 20 December, 1962.
75. Evening News, 24 December, 1962.
76. Manila Bulletin, 26 December, 1962.
77. Manila Bulletin, 25 December, 1962.
78. Indonesian Observer, 17 December, 1962.
79. Manila Chronicle, 12 December, 1962.
80. Manila Bulletin, 21 December, 1962.
81. Nazaruddin Lubis, B.A. Pemberontakan di Kalimantan Utara, Jajasan Gotong Rojong, Djakarta, 1962, p 56.
82. Evening News, 27 December, 1962.
83. Indonesian Involvement in East Malaysia, Jabatan Penerangan, Malaysia. 1963, p 47.
84. Lapuran Dewan Rakyat, Sesi IV, Dewan Rakyat I, 12 December, 1962, pp 2801-2804
85. Utusan Melayu, 13 December, 1962, p 10.
86. Lapuran Dewan Rakyat, Sesi IV, Dewan Rakyat I, 12 December, 1962, p 2770.
87. Ibid.
88. Manila Bulletin, 11 December, 1962.
89. Bandung Spirit Aflames, N.K.K.U. Booklet, Jakarta (n.d.), p 98.

90. Interview with Jasin Affandy, Secretary-General, People's Party of Brunei, 25 Jalan Ampang Ulu Tiga, Kuala Lumpur. 27 November, 1985.
91. Revolution and the Proclamation of December 8, 1962. Department of Foreign Affairs. N.K.K.U., Jakarta (n.d.), p 115.
92. Ibid, p 107.
93. Bandung Spirit Aflames, N.K.K.U. booklet, Jakarta (n.d.), p 115.
94. Sunday Mail, 7 July, 1963.
95. See Chapter III. Document No. 27/PRB/66 (Brunei Government WHITE PAPER 4/65 — the Appendix)
96. Brunei Annual Report, 1966, p 281.
97. Ibid, p 280.
98. White Paper 4/65, op. cit.
99. See Chapter III. Document No. 24/PRB/64. Dated 31 August, 1964.
100. Zaini Haji Ahmad V Supervisor, Detention Camp, Berakas. Civil Suit No. 20 of 1971. Dated 13 May, 1971.
101. Memo from Pehin Isa bin Ibrahim. General Adviser to the Sultan. Ref: 204/72. Dated 6 June, 1973.
102. Press Release, People's Party of Brunei, Kuala Lumpur. Dated 7 May, 1974
103. People's Party of Brunei Mandate No. 4/M/PPKB/75 issued to Dr. Saedon Osman, Cairo, Egypt.
104. Letter from Zaini Haji Ahmad to Dr. Saedon Osman in Cairo, Egypt. Dated 11 December, 1973.
105. People's Party of Brunei Mandate No. 3/M/PPKB/73 issued to Jais Abbas, Djalan Cikajang No. 30, Kebayoran Baru, Djakarta. Dated 27 November, 1973.
106. See Chapter III. Document No. 27/PRB/75. Dated 17 March, 1975.
107. Letter from PRB's solicitor, Messrs. Daim & Gamany to Commonwealth Prime Ministers dated 5 April, 1975.
108. United Nations Working Paper on Brunei. A/AC. 109/L. 1021 Dated 16 June, 1975, p 2.
109. Penghianatan Dibongkar. Risalah khas PRB. Dated 30 October, 1975.
110. Kemuncak Perjuangan Kita, Jabatan Penerangan, PRB. Kuala Lumpur.

111. See Chapter III. Document No. 32/PRB/75. Dated April, 1975.
112. Text of speech of A.M. Azahari during the extended meeting of AAPSO., Cairo on 4 May, 1975. In possession of Zaini Haji Ahmad.
113. See Chapter III. Document No. 34/PRB/75. Dated 4 May, 1975.
114. Ibid, para 8.
115. Telegram sent to United Nations Decolonisation Committee by Youseff El-Sebai, Secretary-General of AAPSO. Dated 6 May, 1975.
116. Kemuncak Perjuangan Kita, Jabatan Penerangan, PRB., Kuala Lumpur. Dated 29 September, 1975, p 6.
117. Confidential File of Zaini Haji Ahmad regarding visit to Tripoli, Libya. Dated 10 June, 1975.
118. Ibid.
119. Kemuncak Perjuangan Kita, Jabatan Penerangan, PRB., Kuala Lumpur. Dated 29 September, 1975.
120. See Chapter III. Document No. 28/PRB/75. Dated 17 March, 1975.
121. Letter from T. Tanaka, Secretary, Special Committee, United Nations to Messrs. Daim & Gamany (solicitors of PRB) dated 25 April, 1975.
122. Zaini Haji Ahmad to Secretary-General, United Nations, New York. Ref: PRB/DH/UNO/75. Dated 16 April, 1975.
123. Personal Note of Zaini Haji Ahmad. Dated 11 July, 1975.
124. Ibid.
125. Ibid.
126. Ibid.
127. The Consensus on the Question of Brunei of Sub-Committee II of the Committee of Twenty Four. UN. Document No. A/AC.109/L. 1052. Dated 14 August, 1975
128. Ibid.
129. United Nations Document No. A/AC. 109/SC. 3/SR. 244. Dated 28 July, 1975.
130. See Chapter III. Document No. PRB/33/75. Dated 13 November, 1975.
131. Ibid.
132. Ibid. Page 9.

133. Ibid. Page 10.

134. Ibid. Page 11.

135. See Chapter III. Document No. 34 /PRB/75. Dated 13 November, 1975. Page 22.

136. Ibid, p 2.

137. Ibid. Page 3.

138. Ibid. Page 3.

139. United Nations Document No. 4/L. 1103. Dated 12 November, 1975.



***His Excellency A.M. AZAHARI MAHMUD Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of the Unitary State of North Kalimantan***



# **I**

## **THE FOUNDING OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY OF BRUNEI 1956**

**PIDATO A.M. AZAHARI DALAM PEMBUKAAN MESHUARAT  
PEMBENTUKAN PARTY RAKYAT CHABANG DI BRUNEI DAN  
SEKITARNYA YANG DIADAKAN PADA 22.1.1956**

**Asalam'mu'alaikum Warahmatullahi Wabarakatuh,**

Sambutlah salam perjuangan kita,  
Merdeka!

Saya mengucapkan shukor kehedarat Allah dan mengucapkan pula terima kasih ke atas kesedaran saurada2 hadirin sudah menginsafkan dan kewajiban bagi kepentingan perjuangan Agama, Bangsa dan Tanahair, dan juga untuk menjunjung tinggi kedaulatan kita, iaitu Maulana Sultan Brunei. Kerana kesedaran yang sudah dalam di jiwa kita dan bangsa melayu pada umumnya, kesedaran yang demikianlah yang menjadi pokok dan mendorong kita untuk bersatu berjuang bahu membahu dan mendorong kita keseluruhannya memperkuat persatuan itu dalam satu badan politik sebagai mana kita sama ketahui hari ini, bahawa kita akan mendirikan badan itu dan akan memperkuat pula dengan semangat yang ada pada kita. Demikianlah hendaknya sekali bersatu terus bersatu, persatuan yang mewaja akan membawa kekuatan raksasa untuk sama kita mempertahankan nusa dan bangsa. Dan berjanjilah kita tidak akan mahu lagi dipechah belah oleh golongan mana sekalipun, baik oleh bapa atau ibu kita, kita akan menentang orang2 yang akan memecah belah kita, dan pasti orang2 itu akan kalah.

Kita bersatu dan berjuang dalam satu ikatan badan politik, ini bukan bererti kita akan terus mendapat shorga dalam timpoh satu hari atau satu tahun, tetapi tujuan kita akan menchapai hak mutlak kita dengan teratur dan bersatu menghendaki masa yang tidak dapat ditentukan oleh sesiapa pun juga, melainkan oleh rakyat sendiri. Juga bukan maksud kita dengan bersatu itu kita akan mengachau

keamanan dan membenchi kepada bangsa lain, itu tidak sama sekali, malah kita akan lebih memperiratkan persahabatan kita dengan bangsa apa sekali pun, asalkan bangsa itu mahu bersahabatan dengan kita. Juga disamping kita memperjuangkan hak kemerdekaan bangsa dan tanahair menurut chita2 politik Party, juga kita akan menjaga keamanan dan kesejahteraan bangsa dan rakyat, kita akan menurut dan menjalankan dasar undang2 yang sesuai dengan hak2 democracy, dan akan menuntut perubahan undang2 yang sudah tidak lagi dapat diakui oleh “Universal Human Rights” dalam menentukan nasib sesuatu bangsa atau golongan yang memang sudah diakui oleh bangsa2 di-dunia ini sehingga oleh Pemerintah British pun ikut serta menandatangani undang2 itu. Sungguh pun kita berjuang dan menuntut hak kemerdekaan, tetapi kita tidak sama sekali akan membenchi kepada British, malah kita akan hormat mereka dan menchintai mereka sebagai guru kita, lebih2 lagi kalau pemerintahan England akan mahu dengan tidak lengah mengakui hak2 kita, sudah tentu kita akan memberi kehormatan kita berlipat ganda, dan kita akan mengenal dan mengakui hak2 dan kepentingan England malah kita akan berganding tangan menentukan segala perkara dan mengisi kantong “Commonwealth”, juga kita akan menerima dalam tiap jiwa dan hati bangsa kita, yang bangsa kita Inggeris itu satu Bangsa yang tinggi mutu peribadinya. Serta satu bangsa yang memimpin kita ke arah kemajuan, dan dari sebab itu kita tidak akan melupakan budi baik dari bangsa dan Kerajaan British.

Sekarang, mari kita meninjau keadaan sekitar tanahair kita di Malaya dan Singapore: Malaya masa ini dapat kita katakan sudah hampir kegerbang kemerdekaan, dan kita sama mengetahui yang Ketua Menteri Malaya “Tunku Abdul Rahman” sedang berada di Colonial Office di England, rombongan beliau itu digelar “Rombongan Merdeka” atau Melayu “Merdeka Mission”. Jadi sudah tentu kita sama mengerti apa tujuan rombongan itu, tidak lain bagi menentukan bila Malaya mendapat ketentuan untuk kemerdekaannya. Begitu juga Mr. David Marshal, Ketua Menteri Singapore yang sudah kembali pula ke Singapore dari perjalanannya ke Colonial Office dengan maksud yang sama, iaitu beliau berangkat pada bulan November dan kembali pada bulan December hujung. Sungguh pun di Malaya dan di Singapore terkenal dengan banyak Party Politik, tetapi ternyata sungguh kedalam party2 itu berpechah belah, namun sechara keluar ternyata bersatu dalam satu tekad, iaitu “Kemerdekaan”. Apakah sebabnya banyak party2 ditubuhkan? itu senang

jawabnya, ialah memperjuangkan cita2 politik mereka masing2, dan tiap2 party mempunyai rencana atau programme politik yang dibawa kedalam perjuangan dimana diadakan perdebatan2 yang sengit melalui saluran perlembagaan. Dapat keadaan demikian disalahkan oleh undang2 negeri atau hukum masyarakat? dan dapatkah mereka itu ditangkap dan dibawa kedalam court atau di-tuntut atau dihukum penjara? selagi tidak ada tindakan mengachau keamanan atau menimbulkan pemberontakan. Maka sudah tentu tidak kerana hak democracy atau “Universal Human Right” di bawah lindungan Bangsa2 Bersatu yang diakui oleh segala bangsa, dan diketua oleh empat besar (Four Powers) yang menjamin hak mereka itu, tetapi bukan hanya jaminan itu bagi mereka satu golongan, malahan kita pun berada dalam lindungan undang2 human right juga. Sunggoh pun nampaknya kita baharu sahaja akan menuju ke arah satu perjuangan yang berdasarkan hukum dan kenyataan dalam perkara politik, tetapi kita tidak akan dikatakan yang hak2 kita sebagai satu bangsa boleh diperkosa dengan begitu sahaja, sebab kita dalam perjuangan menurut saluran undang2. Maka dari itu, janganlah kita lemah semangat dan tidak memperdulikan perjuangan yang mahal nilainya itu, sebab sejarah akan selalu mengikuti dibelakang dan menchatat segala langkah dan bakti kita terhadap bangsa dan tanahair. Dari itu janganlah kita membuang kesempatan yang keemasan ini, marilah bersatu, sekali lagi bersatu.

Saudara2.

Marilah kita meninjau kepada sejarah dalam abad kesembilan belas ini: Bangsa India yang berpenduduk 280,000,000 jiwa yang tanahnya sebuah benua terkenal dengan kekayaannya dan selama duaratus lapan puluh tahun dibawah pimpinan Kerajaan British, sunggohpun kuasa pemerintahan dibawah jajahan Inggeris hanyalah lebeh kurang satu abad, dan satu abad lebeh itu dibawah pimpinan British India Co. Tetapi nyata dan sejarah mengakui adalah salah satu peti kewangan British yang terkuat di Asia. Tetapi dengan timbulnya beberapa pemimpin yang terkemuka, di bawah pimpinan Mahatma Ghandi “Almarhum” dan Pandit Nehru, Subhas Chendrabus, Mr. Prashad dan banyak lagi pemimpin Party Kongress India juga tidak ketinggalan wanitanya yang terkenal Lakshmi Pendit, sesudah berjuang dengan politik anti import yang terkenal, dan anti tax garam yang besar ertinya dalam sejarah itu, dan sesudah melalui bermacam chobaan yang pahit dan getir, sehingga beberapa kali beliau itu terkurong dalam Istana Kebangsaan (penjara)

sehingga pernah Mahatma Ghandi berkata demikian “Mahatma Ghandi, can be in imprison, but the voice and spirit of Mahatma Ghandi is always in the centre of the communities of India” ertinya “Mahatma Ghandi boleh dipenjarakan tetapi suara dan semangat ku selalu berada ditengah2 masharakat bangsa ku”. Sampai begitu bersemangat seorang pemimpin India itu, dan sekarang sungguh pun beliau itu sudah meninggalkan kita namun jiwa dan semangat beliau tidak akan luput dari jiwa manusia di-dunia ini. Dan beliau itu terkenal sebagai “The Great Leader of Non-violence” iaitu, pemimpin besar yang tidak mengenal pemberontakan. Sebagaimana kita ketahui masa ini chita2 besar dari para pemimpin India itu sudah menjelma, ini adalah kerana kerajaan British menginsafi hanya dengan memberi hak bangsa India kepada India, akan menjadi bukti kepada dunia, bahwa British adalah satu pemerintah yang adil. Perlu saya ingatkan bahwa kemerdekaan India diserahkan sewaktu Mr. Attlee, ketua Labour Party England menjadi perdana Menteri. Begitu juga Pakistan, dibawah pimpinan Mohamed Ali Jinnah dan Ceylon dan Burma, dan Siam, Jamaica dan sekarang Afrika dan Cyprus lagi dalam perjuangan menentukan nasib mereka dibawah pimpinan paderi2, disana. Juga Malaya, Singapore dan mulai pula kita di Brunei dan Borneo. Nah! kalau kita sudah dapat meninjau demikian, kita pula perchaya satu waktu nanti pemerintahan British juga akan mengembalikan hak Melayu kepada bangsa melayu, sebab pemerintahan British yang adil itu akan terus adil. Juga, beberapa pemimpin dunia yang ingin menchiptakan perdamaian dunia, pernah berkata “Perdamaian akan dapat terjamin bilamana hak sesuatu bangsa dikembalikan kepada yang berhak, dan kalau sesuatu bangsa tidak lagi memerintah kepada bangsa yang lain”, maka ini ertinya kita tidak perlu ragu lagi hak kemerdekaan bangsa kita itu harus diberikan kembali kepada kita. Tetapi apakah kemerdekaan itu akan datang dengan sendirinya, kalau kita berjuang dan ingin kepada kemerdekaan itu? jawabnya pasti tidak melainkan kemerdekaan sesuatu bangsa hanya akan datang dengan perjuangan yang kuat dan persatuan yang kukoh dan teratur serta disiplin yang tidak lemah. Maka dari sebab kita ingin kemerdekaan kita akan berjuang, dan perjuangan yang tidak teratur, hanya akan merugikan dari sebab kita mahu berjuang dengan teratur sebab itulah kita mendirikan chabang Party Rakyat hari ini, didalam dan melalui undang2 Party dan disertai disiplin waja itulah saluran bagi perjuangan kita dan dengan jalan itulah kita sechara perlahan akan mencapai kembali hak pusaka bangsa dan tanahair, iaitu kemerdekaan, dengan mencapai kemerdekaan itulah kita akan

dapat menchapai politik Party Rakyat.

Sekali lagi saya berseru sharat mutlak untuk menchapai chita2 kita, ialah dengan menjaga baiknya keamanan negeri dan melalui perlembagaan. Bersatulah saudara2, jangan lengah, dan sekali lagi jagalah keamanan dan semangat kebangsaan kita, dan berilah penerangan kepada saudara2 kita yang belom faham dan mengerti atas tujuan kita yang mulia ini.

Kepada Duli Yang Maha Mulia Maulana Sultan, Raja Pujaan kita, semuga dipanjangkan usia serta sehatkan badan oleh Allah SWW. Dan dapatlah Maulana kita tetap dudok di atas tahta Kerajaan dengan aman dan sentosa. Dan kita perchaya, Maulana akan faham atas taat setia rakyat.

Wassalam:

Brunei, 22.1.1956. Merdeka!

**PERSIDANGAN PEMBENTUKAN PARTY RAKYAT CHABANG  
BRUNEI YANG DIADAKAN PADA TANGGAL 22/1/1956  
DIMULAI JAM 9.00 PAGI BERTEMPAT DI RUMAH H.M.  
SALEH, YANG DIHADIRI OLEH PARA JEMPUTAN YANG  
MEWAKILI DAERAHNYA MASING-MASING DARI SELUROH  
NEGERI BRUNEI.**

**SUSUNAN AGENDA:-  
PIDATO PEMBUKAAN**

- (a) Memilih Pengerusi, juru tulis dan penasihat
- (b) Membaca Doa Selamat bagi D.Y.M.M. Maulana Sultan, Brunei.
- (1) Pembacaan Anggaran Dasar Party Rakyat
- (2) Pembacaan Manifesto
- (3) Keterangan Manifesto
- (4) Perlantikan Anggota Party Rakyat
- (5) Pengesahan undang2 dasar dan Manifesto
- (6) Perlantikan Anggota Dewan Harian Chabang Party Rakyat
- (7) Sambutan hadirin
- (8) Derma
- (9) Penutup Doa Selamat.

# **ANGGARAN DASAR “PARTY RAKYAT”**

Undang2 ini dirobah dan di-tambah menurut keadaan masa dan tempat dengan tidak merobah dasar dan tujuan Party Rakyat Pusat.

## **FASAL 1**

### **Nama dan Kedudukan**

Party bernama “PARTY RAKYAT” chabang Brunei, berpusat di Kuala Lumpur dengan alamat markas besar ialah No. 10, Jalan Raja Uda, Kuala Lumpur atau di mana juga tempat yang ditentukan oleh dewan Party dari masa kesemasa. Dan pusat chabang berada di negeri Brunei dengan Alamat.....

## **FASAL 2**

### **Asas**

Party Rakyat berasaskan Socio-National-Democracy.

## **FASAL 3**

### **Dasar Perjuangan**

Party Rakyat mendasarkan perjuangannya pada kekuatan rakyat yang insaf, sedar dan disusun rapi atau diorganise.

## **FASAL 4**

### **Tujuan**

Party Rakyat bertujuan:

- a. Menentang segala bentuk rupa penjajahan dalam lapangan politik ekonomi dan sosial.
- b. Memperjuangkan kemerdekaan bagi seluruh Kepulauan Melayu yang berdaulat dengan secara perlembagaan.
- c. Mempertahankan kedudukan Duli Yang Maha Mulia Maulana Sultan Brunei dengan segala keturun2nya menduduki tahta kerajaan Brunei dengan dasar constitution.

- d. Mengujudkan negara Melayu Merdeka yang berdaulat ke dalam dan keluar demokratik dan menjamin keselamatan serta kemakmuran rakyat seluruhnya.

## **FASAL 5**

### **Usaha**

Party Rakyat berusaha dalam lapangan2:

#### **A. Politik**

1. Menyuarakan fikiran dan pendapat rakyat terhadap tiap2 masalah politik yang timbul di dalam dan diluar tanahair dari masa kesemasa.
2. Mempersatukan tenaga rakyat untuk melahirkan satu kekuatan raksaksa yang berdasarkan kekeluargaan bagi mempertahankan kedaulatan nusa dan bangsa.
3. Menginsafkan rakyat dengan memberikan didikan politik yang luas kepada mereka itu sesuai dengan cita2 party.
4. Menuntut terbentuknya susunan perwakilan rakyat yang seratus peratus dari yang serendah hingga yang tertinggi sampai terhujut satu pemerintahan yang dibentuk dan didukung oleh rakyat.
5. Bekerjasama dengan semua gerakan politik yang berada di seluruh kepulauan Melayu yang secita2 dengan partai untuk melahirkan satu front kebangsaan yang kuat bagi kemerdekaan nusa dan bangsa.
6. Menuntut kemerdekaan melahirkan fikiran dengan lisan dan tulisan bersidang, berkumpul, berorganisation dan lain2 demokrasi.
7. Menuntut hak memilih dan dipilih yang umum, luas dan langsung.

#### **B. Ekonomi**

1. Menggalakkan dan menganjurkan rakyat berserikat atau bergotong-royong berkoperasi (berkorporami) dalam perniagaan, pertanian dan lain2.
2. Menuntut supaya cabang2 penghasilan yang penting bagi penghidupan rakyat diurus dan diawasi oleh negara.
3. Menuntut supaya kekayaan negeri ini dipergunakan sebahagian untuk kesejahteraan rakyat.



### **C. Sosial**

1. Menuntut supaya adanya Undang2 sosial yang menjamin perlindungan atas kaum buruh, tani dan lain2 secukupnya terutama mengenai upah, waktu bekerja, layanan perumahan, layanan kesihatan, persekolahan anak2, bantuan dalam kecelakaan, bantuan dihari tua dan lain2 lagi.
2. Menuntut hak2 mogok dan tunjuk perasaan bagi kaum buruh.
3. Membenteras buta huruf di kalangan rakyat.
4. Menuntut hak2 belajar dan melanjutkan pelajaran bagi tiap2 rakyat dengan tidak pandang memandang.
5. Memajukan kebudayaan kebangsaan yang menjadi sumber kekuatan bangsa.
6. Menuntut hak tiap2 rakyat atas pekerjaan dan penghidupan yang layak bagi kemanusiaan.
7. Menjalankan usaha sosial lain yang mendatangkan kebajikan bagi seluruh rakyat.
8. Menuntut upah bagi kehidupan yang sesuai untuk PEHIN2 dan KETUA KAMPONG seluruhnya.
9. Menuntut didirikan Pejabat Ugama yang teratur dan segala pekerja yang lengkap dan mendapat gaji yang sesuai.

### **FASAL 6**

#### **Anggota.**

Yang diterima menjadi anggota Party Rakyat ini ialah tiap2 rakyat yang berada di seluruh kepulauan Melayu yang berumur lebih 18 tahun dan yang bersetuju dengan asas dan tujuan Party Rakyat.

### **FASAL 7**

#### **Susunan Pimpinan.**

##### **A. Dewan Partai**

1. Partai dipimpin oleh Dewan Party terdiri dari 21 orang yang dipilih oleh Congress.
2. Ketua tiap2 cabang dengan sendirinya menjadi anggota Dewan Party.
3. Anggota Dewan Party yang bukan ketua tiap2 cabang dibentuk

menjadi Dewan Harian (sekurang2nya 7 orang), masing2 sebagai Ketua. Wakil Ketua, Setiausaha 1, Setiausaha II, Bendahari dan dua orang pembantu untuk menjalankan pekerjaan Dewan Party sehari2.

4. Dewan Party membentuk jabatan2 Party yang masing2 diketuai oleh anggota Dewan Party.
5. Jabatan Party terdiri dari:
  - a. Jabatan Politik
  - b. Jabatan Ekonomi
  - c. Jabatan Sosial
  - d. Jabatan Organisasi
  - e. Jabatan Penerangan

## **B. Cabang**

1. Cabang dipimpin Dewan Cabang terdiri dari ketua2 ranting dan 7 orang lain yang dipilih oleh ranting2 dalam Konperansi Cabang.
2. Orang yang tujuh orang itu dibentuk menjadi Dewan Harian Cabang atau tersusun sebagai Dewan Harian Cabang Party.
3. Jabatan2 dalam Dewan dibentuk sesuai dengan jabatan2 dalam Dewan Party.
4. Cabang terdiri dari sekurang2nya 10 ranting.

## **Ranting**

1. Ranting dipimpin oleh Dewan Ranting yang terdiri dari 7 orang yang dipilih dalam rapat anggota2.
2. Dewan Ranting ini disusun sebagai Dewan Harian Chabang.
3. Jabatan2 dalam Dewan Ranting dibentuk sesuai dengan Jabatan2 dalam Dewan Chabang.
4. Ranting terdiri dari sedikit2nya 25 orang anggota.

## **FASAL 8**

## **C. Kongress**

Kongress diadakan setahun sekali, di-selenggarakan dan dipimpin oleh Dewan Party. Yang dimaksudkan dengan Congress ialah persidangan besar dari utusan2 (wakil) cabang.

## **FASAL 9**

### **Kekuasaan**

Kekuasaan tertinggi dalam Party terletak pada Congress. Tetapi bila Congress tidak dalam persidangnya maka dewan Partylah yang menjadi kuasa tertinggi.

## **FASAL 10**

### **Hak Suara**

1. Dalam rapat anggota tiap2 seorang anggota mempunyai satu (1) suara.
2. Dalam konperansi cabang tiap2 Ranting mempunyai hak satu suara.
3. Dalam Congress, tiap2 cabang mempunyai hak satu suara.
4. Dalam Congress, Dewan Party tidak mempunyai hak suara, hanya berhak memutuskan bila belum juga terdapat keputusan sesudah diadakan pemungutan suara hingga dua kali.

## **FASAL 11**

### **Harta Benda**

Harta Benda Party didapati dari:

- a. Wang pangkal (bayaran masuk)
- b. Wang yuran bulanan.
- c. Sokongan yang tidak mengikat.
- d. Usaha2 lain yang sah.

## **FASAL 12**

### **Ketentuan Umum**

1. Pengubahan (pindahan), pengurangan dan penambahan anggaran dasar harta dapat dilakukan oleh Congress.
2. Segala peraturan yang belum tercantum dalam anggaran dasar termuat dalam **anggaran tetangga** yang dibuat sesuai dan tidak bertentangan dengan anggaran dasar.
3. Segala perselisihan dalam memahami anggaran dasar

diputuskan oleh Dewan Party.

## **ANGGARAN TETANGGA PARTY RAKYAT FASAL 1**

### **Keanggotaan**

1. Permintaan menjadi anggota.
2. Permintaan menjadi anggota Party dimajukan dengan bertulis kepada ranting/cabang kemudian disahkan oleh Dewan Party.
3. (Atas permintaan sendiri).
4. Berhenti menjadi anggota. Anggota diberhentikan kerana:
  - a. Atas permintaan sendiri.
  - b. Meninggal Dunia.
  - c. Dipecat.
5. Hak dan kewajipan anggota.
  - a. Anggota **berhak** dipilih dan memilih.
  - b. Anggota berhak membela diri dimuka Congress/Conferen-sy/Cabang/Rapat/Ranting atau sesuatu tuduhan pemim-pin.
  - c. Anggota **berkewajipan** membayar wang pangkal dan wang yuran.
  - d. Anggota **berkewajipan** melaksanakan segala putusan Party.

## **FASAL 2**

### **Disiplin Party**

- A.**
1. Anggota Party Rakyat tidak boleh menjadi anggota Party Politik lain.
  2. Anggota Party Rakyat di-larang menjalankan sesuatu yang merugikan Party seperti membusok2kan nama Party lain.
- B.**
1. Tiap2 pelanggaran terhadap keputusan Party dan atau perbuatan yang merugikan Party dianggap sebagai perbuatan melanggar disiplin dan dihukum.
  2. Hukom Party.  
Pechat sementara  
Pemechatan diumomkan kedalam dan keluar organisasi.

## **FASAL 3**

### **Persidangan2**

#### **A. Congress**

Congress diadakan setahun sekali kechuali dalam hal2 yang luar biasa.

1. Atas putusan Dewan Party
2. Atas permintaan bertulis sekurang2nya separoh dari jumlah chabang yang ada.

#### **B. Konperansi Chabang**

Konperansi diadakan setahun sekali (kechuali dalam hal2 yang luar biasa) tidak lewat dari tempoh sebulan sebelum Congress, kechuali dalam hal2 yang luar biasa.

1. Atas putusan Dewan Chabang.
2. Atas permintaan bertulis sekurang2nya separoh dari jumlah ranting yang ada.

#### **C. Rapat Ranting (Rapat Anggota)**

Rapat ranting diadakan setahun sekali, tidak lewat dari tempoh sebulan sebelum Konperansi chabang, kechuali dalam hal2 yang luar biasa.

1. Atas putusan Dewan Ranting.
2. Atas permintaan bertulis sekurang2nya separoh dari jumlah anggota yang ada.

#### **Dewan Party, Dewan Chabang dan Dewan Ranting**

Ketiga2 Dewan ini boleh mengadakan persidangan2 pada bila2 masa yang difikirkan perlu, tetapi tidak lewat dari 6 bulan sekali.

## **FASAL 4**

### **Tanggung jawab**

1. Dewan Party bertanggung jawab kepada Congress.
2. Dewan Chabang bertanggung jawab kepada Konperansi

Chabang.

3. Dewan Ranting bertanggung jawab kepada Rapat Anggota.

## **FASAL 5**

### **Persidangan Boleh Dijalankan**

Tiap2 persidangan yang memutuskan sesuatu yang hanya dianggap sah apabila di-kunjongi oleh sekurang2nya separoh ditambah satu dari jumlah anggota (utusan) yang membawa hak suara. Begitu pun persidangan yang ketiganya sekali pun jumlah suara yang patut hadir tidak juga mencukupi.

## **FASAL 6**

### **Pemilihan**

1. Dewan Party dipilih dalam Congress.
2. Dewan chabang dipilih dalam Konperansi Chabang.
3. Dewan Ranting dipilih dalam Rapat Anggota.
4. Anggota ketiga2 dewan ini dapat dipilih kembali.
5. Pemilihan dijalankan mengikut suara terbanyak.

## **FASAL 7**

### **Laporan2**

1. Tiap2 sebulan sekali ranting2 hendaklah memberikan laporannya kepada Dewan Party.
2. Tiap2 sebulan sekali chabang2 hendaklah memberikan laporan kepada Dewan Party.

## **FASAL 8**

### **Kewajipan2**

1. **Ketua**
  - a. Memimpin Party, (b) Memimpin Congress, (c) Memimpin Rapat Dewan Party, dan (d) Mewakili Party Keluar.
2. **Wakil Ketua**
  - a. Menjalankan kerja2 ketua bila ketua itu berhalangan seperti uzor dan lainnya.
  - b. Membantu ketua dalam pekerjaannya.

### **3. Setiausaha I**

- a. Memimpin urusan surat menyurat, (b) Memegang rahsia Party, (c) Menyediakan laporan untuk Congress, (d) Menjadi jurutulis Congress dan rapat Dewan Party.  
(e) Bertanggung jawab atas beresnya pentadbiran pusat atau Dewan Harian, dan  
(f) Menyatukan pekerjaan2 Jabatan Dewan Party.

### **4. Setiausaha II**

- a. Menjalankan kerja2 Setiausaha I bila Setiausaha I itu berhalangan.
- b. Membantu Setiausaha I dalam pekerjaannya.

### **5. Bendahari**

- a. Bertanggung jawab dalam urusan kewangan Party. (b) Menyediakan laporan kewangan untuk Congress. (c) Mengurus mengawasi hak milik Party dan (d) Mengatur pembukuan kewangan Party.

### **6. Anggota**

- a. Membayar wang pangkal, wang yuran dan wang pungutan Party yang lain.
- b. Menjalankan sebaik2nya tiap2 pekerjaan yang diberikan oleh Party kepadanya.
- c. Menjaga nama baik Party.

## **FASAL 9**

### **Kewangan**

1. Membayar wang pangkal tiap2 anggota ditetapkan \$2.00 (dua ringgit).
2. Wang yuran tiap2 anggota ditetapkan \$1.50 (seringgit lima puluh sen) tiap2 6 bulan.
3. Derma dan wang2 lain yang ditetapkan dengan usaha2 halal.

## **FASAL 10**

### **Pembahagian Wang**

Pembahagian wang yang masok adalah sebagai berikut:

- a. Wang pangkal diserahkan sepenuhnya kepada Bendahari Pusat.
- b. Wang yuran dibahagikan antara chabang dan ranting saja sebagai berikut:  
\$1.00 untuk Ranting bagi tiap2 6 bulan dan 50 sen untuk Chabang bagi tiap2 6 bulan.
- c. Derma dan wang2 lain yang didapati dengan usaha2 yang halal terpulang kepada pihak yang mendapatkannya. Tetapi pusat, chabang dan ranting boleh bertolongan2 bantu-membantu sekadar yang terupaya mengikut banyaknya wang tersebut yang masuk. Jumlahnya ditetapkan oleh pihak yang memberi.

## **FASAL 11**

### **Pembubaran**

1. Party dibubarkan atas permintaan/persetujuan sekurang2nya 3/4 dari jumlah suara yang berhak.
2. Bila organisasi dibubarkan pembahagian perbendaharaan Party ditentukan oleh Congress.

## **FASAL 12**

### **Lain-lain**

Pengubahan, penambahan dan pengurangan pada anggaran hanya dapat dilakukan dalam Congress.

## **MERDEKA**

Brunei Darusalam,  
tanggal 22.1.1956.



## MANIFESTO

### PARTY RAKYAT CHABANG BRUNEI DAN SEKITARNYA DISESUAIKAN MENURUT TEMPAT DAN MASA

Apakah yang mendorong kita membuka chabang dari Party Rakyat? Sebab, kita semua sudah sedar akan erti perjuangan bagi mencapai hak2 bangsa dan tanahair yang sudah jauh ketinggalan oleh negeri dan bangsa lain di-dunia ini baik dalam segala hal, baik kemajuan, politik, social, economy, culture dan ilmu pengetahuan. Apakah sebabnya demikian, ialah kerana kita **di-umbang ambingkan oleh politik penjajah.**

Tetapi sekarang segala kelemahan yang timbul dalam kalangan bangsa kita oleh kerana perpechahan itu akan dapat kita temukan kembali dan diikat oleh satu badan pergerakan yang sah menurut hukum universal (dunia) menerusi piagam “UNIVERSAL HUMAN RIGHT” atau (hak kemanusiaan sejagat) menjamininya pula.

Maka keadaan bangsa kita di-masa ini diseluroh bahagian kepulauan di Kalimantan Utara ini adalah sangat terkebelakang dan kalau kita meninjau keadaan dari segala sudut, bahawa kita akan mengakui kita sangat lemah, maka dari itu kita harus menchari satu jalan bagi menguatkan kebangsaan kita dan memperkuatkan ke-dudukan politik kita di-mata dunia, dari itulah **kita menjelmakan satu chabang Party Rakyat** yang mana Party itu adalah salah satu Party yang kuat pada masa ini di Malaya. Dengan jalan bersatu demikian rupalah ke-dudukan politik kita akan mendapat ke-dudukan dan supporters yang kuat sekali.

Tidak ada orang yang tidak menghendaki kemerdekaan baik diri-nya mahu pun negeri dan bangsa-nya, maka dari itulah perhimpunan bangsa2 (U.N.O.) yang diikuti oleh segala bangsa di-dunia ini sehingga bangsa yang maseh mengamalkan penjajahan pun ikut serta, dan kuasa2 besar pun turut sama bagi mengakui hak2 ke-manusia'an itu. Sehingga kemerdekaan adalah hak mutlak dari segala bangsa di-dunia ini. Justeru tidak pula kita mahu ketinggalan dalam memperjuangkan kemerdekaan itu. **Kerana itulah kita melahirkan chabang Party Rakyat.**

#### 2. Apakah Chita2 Politik Party Rakyat?

Memperjuangkan kemerdekaan semata2 dengan tidak disertai oleh cita2 politik tidak memadai, malah sia2. Seperti sama keadaannya mendirikan sebuah rumah batu di-tengah2 hutan belantara. Sudah tentu tidak ada orang mahu menyewa-nya, umpamanya: kemerdekaan memang baik. Tetapi kemerdekaan bukan cita2 politik, bukan matlamat. Kemerdekaan hanyalah alat, hanya jambatan buat menyampaikan kepada matlamat tadi. Sekali pun jambatan itu di-buat-nya dari mas namun matlamat yang dituju itu belum tentu merupakan shorga. Mungkin pula neraka. Party Rakyat lahir bukan kerana hendakkan, dan dengan yang demikian melulu membenci penjajahan, tetapi sejalan dengan itu kerana cita2 politik-nya juga.

Tegasnya disamping mahukan kemerdekaan juga menghendaki kemerdekaan itu sesuai dengan cita2 politik-nya.

Apakah cita2 politik Party Rakyat?

Terdirinya Party Rakyat di Malaya adalah lain sedikit sebab-nya dalam beberapa soal, tetapi tidak berbeda tujuan-nya dari terdiri-nya chabang Brunei dan sekitar-nya, hal itu dapat kita perhatikan dalam manifesto Party Rakyat Pusat. (Sebahagian daripada ayat disini tidak dapat disalin kerana telah reput — Zaini)

Sekarang, setelah kita mengetahui sebabnya mengapa chabang Party Rakyat ini lahir, maka ada baiknya pula kalau diterangkan disini tujuan dan rancangan yang akan dijalankan:

1. Menentang segala bentuk rupa penjajahan dalam lapangan politik dan economy serta social.
2. Mempertahankan kedudukan Duli Yang Maha Mulia Maulana Sultan Brunei di-atas kerajaan sehingga kepada segala keturunan.
3. Mengakui sechra mutlak atas hak kerabat Diraja, baik economy mahu pun politik.
4. Memperjuangkan kemerdekaan bagi tanahair dan bangsa Melayu sechra teratur dan berdasar perlembagaan dan mewujudkan hanya satu bangsa dan negara Melayu diseluruh kepulauan bangsa Melayu.
5. Mewujudkan bagi keselamatan rakyat seluruh-nya dan kemakmuran umum-nya.

#### **A. Politik**

1. Menyuarakan fikiran dan pendapat rakyat terhadap tiap2 masaalah politik yang timbul di-dalam dan diluar tanahair dari semasa ke-semasa.
2. Mempersatukan tenaga rakyat untuk melahirkan satu tenaga raksasa yang berdasarkan ke-keluargaan bagi mempertahankan kedaulatan nusa dan bangsa.
3. Menginsafkan rakyat dengan memberikan didikan politik yang luas kepada mereka itu sesuai dengan **chita2 Party**.
4. Menuntut terbentuk-nya perwakilan rakyat yang seratus peratus dari yang serendah2nya sehingga yang paling tinggi sampai terbentuk pemerintahan yang di-dukkong oleh rakyat.
5. Bekerjasama dengan segala Party Politik yang ada di Malaya dan Borneo bagi perjuangan yang sama.
6. Menuntut kemerdekaan melahirkan fikiran dengan lisan dan tulisan, bersidang, berkumpul berorganisation dan lain2nya hak democracy.
7. Menuntut hak memilih dan di-pilih yang umum, luas dan langsung.

## **B. Economy:**

1. Mengelak dan menganjurkan rakyat bersharikat atau bergotong royong (Co-operation) dalam perniagaan, pertanian dan lain2nya.
2. Menuntut supaya diadakan pendidikan yang luas berkenaan perusahaan dan perdagangan.
3. Menuntut supaya kekayaan negeri ini sebahagian di-pergunakan untuk kesejahteraan rakyat.

## **C. Sosial**

1. Menuntut supaya ada-nya undang2 social yang menjamin perlindungan atas kaum buroh, tani dan lainnya sachukop2nya terutama mengenai upah, waktu bekerja, layanan perumahan, layanan kesihatan, persekolahan anak2 bantuan dalam ke-chelakaan, bantuan dihari tua dll.
2. Menuntut hak2 mogok dan tunjok perasaan (Demonstration) bagi Kaum Buroh dan rakyat umumnya.
3. Membenteras “Buta Huruf” di-kalangan rakyat.
4. Menuntut hak2 belajar dan melanjutkan pelajaran bagi tiap2 rakyat atau kanak2 dengan tidak pandang memandang.

5. Memajukan kebudayaan kebangsaan yang menjadi kekuatan bangsa.
6. Menuntut hak tiap rakyat atas pekerjaan dan penghidupan yang layak bagi rakyat seluruh-nya.
7. Menjalankan usaha social lain yang mendatangkan kebajikan bagi rakyat.
8. Menuntut upah bagi kehidupan yang sesuai untuk Pehin2 dan kepala kampong seluruh-nya.
9. Menuntut di-dirikan-nya Pejabat Ugama yang teratur dan segala pekerja yang lengkap dan mendapat gaji yang sesuai.

Dengan itu marilah kita bangun sedarlah, saudara2, kawan2 dan rakyat seluruh-nya bersatulah jangan ragu2 lagi “MATAHARI TELAH TERBIT, TIDAK LAGI DAPAT DIBENAMKAN”.

Marilah memasuki Party yang memperjuangkan nasib rakyat seluruh-nya, jangan tertipu oleh suara yang manis tetapi berisi rachun yang bisa. Nasib rakyat hanya dapat ditentukan oleh rakyat, dari rakyat dan untuk rakyat.

## **KETERANGAN ATAS ISTILAH “SOCIO-NATIONAL DEMOCRACY”**

Keterangan ini diambil dan disalin ditambah dan dikurangi menurut dan disesuaikan dengan masa dan tempat, tetapi tidak keluar dari dasar istilah Party Rakyat Pusat.

Apakah Socio-National-Democracy itu?

Socio-National-Democracy dari gabungan dua asas, iaitu:

1. Socio-Nationalism
2. Socio-Democracy

**Socio-Nationalism** ialah faham ke-bangsa'an yang berdasarkan kemasyarakatan. **Socio-** atau **Social** bererti ke-masyarakatan dan **Nationalism** bererti ke-bangsa'an.

Apakah Nationalism?

Nationalism ialah faham ke-bangsa'an yang tumbuh bukan kerana darah atau Keturunan (race) tetapi kerana persama'an nasib, sejarah dan kepentingan untuk hidup bersama sebagai satu bangsa (nation).

Jadi, socio-nationalism atau ke-bangsa'an yang berdasar kemasyarakatan itu, mengakui bahwa bangsa2 di-dunia ini tidaklah terpisah antara satu sama lain malahan harus hidup dan bekerja bersama ertinya bermasyarakat. Seterusnya kerana itu pulalah maka socio-nationalism dalam hubungan international mengakui kewajiban bangsa2 se-dunia bekerja bersama2 menyusun masyarakat bangsa2 sa-dunia tadi bebas dari penjajahan dan penindasan baik dalam lapangan politik, economy mahu pun kebudayaan.

**Socio-Democracy** ialah faham ke-rakyatn yang berdasarkan kemasyarakatan adalah democracy penuh, democnrcacy total. Apakah democracy penuh itu? Democracy penuh itu ialah democracy politik, democracy economy, dan democracy social.

Democracy Politik mengakui hak yang sama bagi tiap2 rakyat untuk ikut menentukan haluan dan susunan negara.

Democracy Economy mengakui hak tiap2 rakyat untuk hidup sama2 makmur dengan yang lain.

Democracy mengakui tiap2 rakyat untuk mendapat penghargaan yang sama sebagai manusia. Mencapai tingkat kemajuan satinggi-

nya dalam segala lapangan sesuai dengan bakatnya.

Kesimpulannya: Socio-Nationalism menghendaki:

A. Dalam lapangan politik Perjuangan yang berchorak ke-bangsa' an yang luas dalam susunan pemerintahan yang berdasarkan kedaulatan rakyat, dengan tidak menyinggong atau mengganggu hak2 diraja.

B. Dalam lapangan Economy

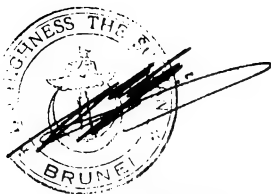
1. Susunan economy yang teratur (planned economy). Susunan economy yang teratur itu haruslah berdasarkan hak kerakyatan dan di-susun oleh negara atau sebahagian sumber penghidopan rakyat harus dipegang atau sekurang2nya diawasi oleh negara.
2. Membantu pengusaha national untuk membangun economy national yang democratic.

Pada tingkat kemerdekaan national yang dituju sangat diperlukan sebagai bantuan pengusaha national, membangun economy national yang democratic.

C. Dalam lapangan Social: susunan masharakatan yang berdasar gotong royong (collective) dan kerana itu menolak susunan masharakat yang berdasarkan persendirian (individualistic). Tegasnya setiap anak masharakat yang tidak ada pandang memandang harus mendapat kesempatan untuk mencapai kepandaian dan penyelenggaraan yang penoh dalam pendidikan, pengajaran, kebudayaan, kesehatan, dan dll.

Socio-National-Democracy, dalam garis besarnya bersikap:

1. Membela, memihak dan memimpin pehak buroh dalam hak2 mereka untuk hidop menurut dasar ke-manusiaan.
2. Menolak dictator dalam bentuk apa juga pun.
3. Menyokong tiap usaha yang bertujuan untuk mencapai kemerdekaan kerana dengan ada-nya kemerdekaan maka akan lenyaplah penjajahan, tetapi kemerdekaan yang dituju oleh socio-national-democracy ialah kemerdekaan yang penoh — KEMERDEKAAN POLITIK, KEMERDEKAAN ECONOMY, KEMERDEKAAN SOCIAL BUKAN KEMERDEKAAN YANG TANGGONG2.



9th June, 1956

**PARTY RA'AYAT BRUNEI.**

Setia Usaha,

HRO paper ini sila kembalikan kepada Tuan B.R.

2: Kalau sudah jua baca lebih-kurang akan maksud2 dan tujuan2 Party tersebut.

3: Jikaia maksud2 dan tujuan2 Party itu tidak menyalahi, mengendahkan serta menghalangi Undang2 Kerajaan Brunei dan Undang2 Kerajaan Inggris, tidak mengganggu perjalanan pemerintahan atau pertadbiran Kerajaan Brunei yang dijalankan selama ini dalam negeri Brunei, serta pula tidak berlawanan dengan Treaty2 yang dipertah di antara Brunei dengan British, ya'ni Treaty2 1847, 1888, 1895 dan 1906, tidaklah maka ada apa2 halangan bagi pendaftaran Party itu di Brunei dengan satu syarat ialah Party itu mesti diuntukan dalam negeri Brunei saja dan tidak berkuasa atau menjalankan pengaruh atau muslihatnya dalam negeri2 Sabah dan Sarawak.

4: Kalau Party itu dibenarkan menjalankan muslihat dan berpengaruh dalam negeri2 dua buah yang tersebut kemapa pula ia dilarang bersatu atau bersatu pada dengan Singapura dan Federation of Malaya serta ditegah ia menjadi ahangan Party Ra'ayat Malaya dalam Brunei?

5: Kalau suka mahu keterangan daripada Tuan B.R. darihal so'al2an diparagraphs 3 dan 4 diatas terlebih dahulu.

*Subin bin*  
*Subin bin*  
49.6.56

## **MEMORANDUM ON CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS**

### **1. The Conception of “Merdeka”**

This memorandum is presented on behalf and in the name of Party Rakyat. Although registered as a political party, Party Rakyat is more than that. It is a movement. Furthermore, it is a movement which traces its origin to the awakening of national consciousness more than ten years ago, in 1946. It represents the sentiments and aspirations of many thousands of the comparatively small population of the State of Brunei who have no other means of articulation. Those sentiments and aspirations are common to most of the peoples of South East Asia at the present time and are summarised as a desire of the common people to have a voice in their own government.

Brunei is a State functioning under British Protection. In Brunei, therefore, “Merdeka” implies internal self-government. It implies the substitution of a broad based constitutional monarchy for the present, albeit benevolent but undemocratic, rule by the traditional aristocracy. The people of Brunei are loyal and devoted subjects of their Sultan. They seek, indeed, as an ultimate goal even closer relations with other kindred members of the Commonwealth. The urge which stirs them in the name of “Merdeka” is not of the character of a revolt against oppression, still less a wish to overturn the existing order in conformity with some foreign doctrine. It does not even represent the view that those who at present carry on the real work of government should not, in most cases, continue to function in their respective office under a new constitution. The urge is the urge of a people born free to assert the dignity of their birthright as free men.

The people of Brunei are peace-loving and patient. They are also proud. If their dignity is respected in the matter of principle, they do not press for immediate and complete “Merdeka”. They are content to achieve an early realisation of a substantial voice in their own internal Government, confident that they have amongst themselves enough men of sufficient ability and practical understanding to shoulder the necessary responsibility.



## **2. Party Rakyat**

The present membership of Party Rakyat within the first year of its existence is approximately 16,000 representing a very high proportion of the adult male population of the State. There are members not only in the Brunei Town area and in Seria, but also scattered throughout the State in Muara, in Tutong, in Temburong and in Kuala Belait. This distribution is of more than numerical importance. It signifies that there is a new spirit abroad among the people of Brunei that the old local hatreds and prejudices are disappearing. It means that they have outlived the parochial mentality of a feudal past and are animated by a common sense of nationhood and joint responsibility.

In addition to the above figures the number of persons not yet members who support the Party at its public meetings demonstrates that its paying membership does not represent the full measure of its representation. Further, the absence of any significant number of persons who have formed or joined any other political party, group or movement suggests that non-membership of Party Rakyat can be attributed to indifference or to personal grounds other than political disagreement. It would, it is submitted, in assessing justly the merits of the Party's claim to represent the true sentiments of the people of Brunei generally, be wholly unrealistic to weigh a merely neutral attitude in the balance against the positive and enthusiastic support given the Party rakyat.

In any event, should this estimate of the full strength of the party prove to be exaggerated, that will soon become apparent under a democratic constitution, by the defeat of the party at the polls. In this Memorandum Party Rakyat asks for nothing for itself. Believing as it does that the people of Brunei are justified in asking for a democratic constitution under His Highness the Sultan and within the Commonwealth, the Party, while convinced that it speaks with a popular mandate, is nevertheless content to rest upon the reasonableness of the case. The people of Brunei are either articulate or they are not. If they are, Party Rakyat is their voice. They claim no other. If they are not, then let what Party Rakyat puts forward in their name stand or fall on its own merits.

## **3. The Factor of Urgency**

The present is an important juncture in the history of the State of Brunei. The discovery and exploitation nearly thirty years ago of oil deposits, as is well known, changed its economic condition from that of considerable poverty to one of remarkable wealth. This state of affairs cannot be expected to last indefinitely. It is essential, therefore, that the funds of the fat years should be carefully husbanded against the lean times which are inevitably ahead. This, of course, has been fully recognised already; but whether or not the policy undoubtedly being pursued to this end is functioning as it could and should is another matter. It is true that a General Reserve Fund, at present amounting to roughly four hundred million dollars, has been accumulated, the revenue from which (if the fund remains intact) should provide a steady, if not very opulent, income for the benefit of the community. Cash investments, however, are fragile. A heavy move in the money market against the currency would certainly produce a disastrous state of affairs, if the State has no other more steadily based resources.

It is of importance, therefore, to ensure that the current wealth of the State is invested to the best advantage in the establishment of permanent sources of prosperity. The first step in this direction is the raising of the standard of living of the people as a whole. That in itself involves far more than merely raising their personal income. Housing, education, health, and by no means the least, civic responsibility, are the factors which go to make the standard of living a genuinely high one.

The next step in order of importance is road building so as to ensure the mobility of goods and labour, and to make it possible to open up the country to its possibilities for agriculture. Local industry and commerce can then be developed. But that is not a more matter of production. Facilities will have to be provided for a proper outlet for the goods and commodities produced. Export facilities imply the necessary storage (including cold storage) plant, and the equipment for handling, packing and shipping the merchandise. The scheme which it is understood is already projected for the establishment of a large port must, therefore, be looked upon as a matter of real urgency. However high the cost may be, it cannot wait until financial and political issues can be thrashed out.

These, of course, are only examples of the kinds of project which

need immediate attention whilst the State's wealth still flows in. It is appreciated that there is little or nothing new in their conception. What is not satisfactory as matters stand is the apparent obstructiveness which hampers the present administrators in overcoming the multiple difficulties in the way of their realisation. A government which is subject to no democratic control may or not be efficient. So long as its efficiency is such that it shows the best possible results, well and good. But the disadvantage appears when its efficiency falls short of the highest standards under a democratic system. Whilst it is notorious that there is scope for inefficiency, there is at least the overriding consolation that the government can be changed following public criticism. It is, therefore, no more a question of blind sentiment when an uninformed people awaken to a conscious belief that their affairs are not being conducted as well as they could be and at the same time to a sense of frustration that there is nothing at all they can lawfully do about it.

All these things can, in ordinary circumstances, abide a moment in time when the population as a whole are clearly ripe for the responsibilities of democracy. That, however, is an argument which does not apply in a state of affairs where the factor of urgency makes all the difference. A government of Brunei which is frustrated during the next decade or so in its efforts to invest the wealth coming to the State in such a way as to set the people on their own feet for all time when the present sources of wealth are dried up will be a government with which there is something gravely amiss. The risk of such frustration is one which the people of Brunei should not be asked to take. They ought not to be left standing patiently by, awaiting a date at which they may be considered more competent than at present to have a voice in the control of their own affairs.

This argument, it is well appreciated, lays itself open to the retort that this time of all times is not one in which to place the vehicle of the state in the control of learner-drivers. No doubt that is theoretically true; always assuming that these who are prepared to accept the responsibility of governing are in fact no better than learner-drivers. It must not, however, be forgotten that before they arrive at the driving seat they will have been constitutionally elected, and that it by no means follows that such elections will result in the return to power of men who are not capable of exercising it as they should. In the unfortunate event of the return to power of an incompetent

government it would not, in the circumstances envisaged, require a change in the constitution to replace it. On the contrary, under the terms of democratic constitution itself, such calamity could quickly be limited in its effect by the replacement of the government by another. The next government may perhaps consist of the familiar personalities who knew authority under the former regime. The interruption in the term of their tenure of office would, on those assumptions, have provided valuable evidence of the wisdom or unwisdom of contentious policies. At the same time the democratic constitution would still provide a potent insurance against any possible risk of complacency on the part of the members of that government, as much as on the part of those of any other.

#### **4. Political Awareness**

It can be and has been suggested that such is the political backwardness of the people of Brunei that their vote would not amount to what could fairly be called a democratic voice. Such an assertion though easily made, calls for proper proof. The known facts do not appear to prove anything of that kind. There are, it is true, amongst the population, some whose lives are very simple and primitive. As such, so far as the projected elections are concerned, only those who are adult males will be considered. That reduces the total worthless votes to a figure which, at a generous estimate, should not amount to a few hundreds. There are, however let it be admitted, many who are still backward in education and knowledge, but by no means in intelligence and capacity to understand the issues affecting their own being. It would be unjust to regard the votes of politically awakening people as worthless, even though from some points of view they might prove to be unstable. Voters of this kind are not peculiar to communities such as that in Brunei. There is not a western democracy which does not to contend at every election with a substantial number of this type of voter. Furthermore, political issues in Brunei will not, for some years to come, be the main matter in controversy upon which the voter should make up his mind. The election will depend more on the voters' judgement of personalities than of policies; and it is submitted that those whose outlook on life is untrammelled by smatterings of education, are even shrewder judges of man's worth than their more sophisticated counterparts in the old-established democracies.

Let it, however, be assumed that full adult male suffrage under existing conditions in Brunei will produce a distorted result. Assume that result to be impaired to the extent of even one vote in three being wholly worthless. Yet that deficiency can be fully compensated by reserving 25%, and no more, of the membership of the legislature, for nominated members. That is to say, let 75% of the legislature be democratically elected by universal adult male suffrage. Assuming (although this, it is submitted, is an unnecessarily extravagant assumption) that a third of the seats will have been filled unjustifiably, there will then result a balance between the satisfactorily elected members extending to 50% of the whole legislative assembly and the other 50% made up, as to half, by nominees whose votes can always correct any extravagances in the voting of the rest. In this connection, it will be borne in mind that even the extreme assumption of one worthless vote in three could only operate to return one worthless member in three where the worthless votes were to be concentrated, so as to create a majority in every third constituency. In practice such a concentration is unlikely to occur at all, and if it should happen, it would not happen so consistently as to produce anything approaching a third of the elected members supported by such votes. The real probabilities are that the worthless voter will everywhere or almost everywhere, be swamped by the majority of voters who know whom they want to elect, and why.

## **5. The Proposed Electorate**

Since elections have hitherto been entirely unknown in Brunei, the question of who should and who should not be included on an electoral roll has never before come up for consideration. The proposal is that adult males, that is to say, according to local tradition, males over the age 18 years shall be entitled to vote provided that they enjoy the status of Brunei citizen. That immediately raises the question of citizenship itself. Hitherto only those families of established local ancestry have been universally recognised as citizens. Such a "closed-shop" is however, both impractical and unfair when electoral privileges arise for consideration. The proper test of citizenship should, it is submitted, in the first place be birth within the territory of the State, secondly continuous residence for a substantial number of years and thirdly naturalisation.

It is obvious that there is here no room for racial discrimination, nor should there be any. Although the overwhelming majority of the

inhabitants are of the Malay race, **there are many and important citizens of Chinese origin**, a high proportion of whom are of families who have settled in Brunei for periods up to a whole century. In this connection it is suggested that the **Malay, Chinese and English languages should rank together as the official languages of Brunei.**

In addition there is a small but significant community of Dayaks as well as a substantial sprinkling of members of other races. Besides these members of the community, who might in a sense be called indigenous, there are also some 15,000 present inhabitants, mostly in the oilfields area around Seria, whose residence in Brunei must for the moment at least be classed as temporary only, and accordingly not such as to render them eligible for citizenship. As a result, the adult male electorate will be drawn from a total (which includes women and children) of about 50,000 persons.

Of these 50,000 it has been estimated that a certain percentage are to be regarded as "illiterate". This calls for some comment. Illiteracy, in a country where universal education applies, suggests mental backwardness. It is otherwise in such a community as that in Brunei. While no doubt there will be a certain small proportion of backward persons in the State, as is to be expected in any community, there is no reason to suppose that the great majority of those who can neither read nor write are for that reason wanting either in intelligence or in perspicacity. They are generally speaking, quite as capable of following an argument and assessing the qualities of a man as their more fortunate compatriots who were educated at school. It cannot, therefore, be soundly maintained that the proportion of the so-called illiteracy is any indication of the unreadiness of the population for a voice in their own government.

## **6. The Constitution**

The State of Brunei has no written constitution. Traditionally it is ruled by a Sultan, four Wazirs and other Officers of State. The skeleton of that structure has survived in form since 1906 when by a treaty with Great Britain, the Sultan agreed to receive a British Officer to be styled Resident, as Agent and Representative of the British Government under the appropriate High Commissioner, and further agreed that the advice of the Resident must be taken and acted upon on all questions in Brunei other than those affecting the

Mohammedan religion. As a result, the government of the State became vested, subject to British advice, in the Sultan in Council.

At the present time the State Council includes, apart from the ex-officio British Officers, nominees of the Sultan and a number of representatives of District Councils (such Councils consisting of nominees of His Highness selected from the lists presented by the local communities) known as "Observers". Until very recently these "Observers", while invited to attend sessions of the State Council, had no voice in it. This has now been changed, and they are entitled to vote. Whatever else may be said of such a constitution, it does not conform to any recognised standards of democracy. The element of election does not, for practical purposes, exist. There is no machinery for, nor lawful right of, public criticism. The nominees, who by tradition are chosen on a semi-hereditary principle, are in most cases socially and temperamentally remote from the lives and aspirations of the common people. Above all, there is no means of changing a government which may for one reason or another prove unrepresentative or inefficient. In practice the executive functions of Government are carried out in the name of His Highness by a team of British Officers seconded from the Civil Service. At the head of the team is, of course, the British Resident himself.

The people of Brunei are awakening to a sense of frustration which seems to pervade the work of Government and which they are powerless to dispel or correct. If it was true, even as recently as ten years ago, that government in the traditional manner was in any sense representative of the will of the people, times have certainly changed. The people, as has already been said, desire a voice in the regulation of their own destinies. They wish to be in a position to criticise openly any mismanagement of their affairs. They wish to be able to change the personnel responsible for conducting their affairs in the event of such mismanagement. That, it is clear, can only be done by the introduction of a democratic constitution as ordinarily understood.

Proposals for a new constitution have, as is known, been under discussion for some four years. These, however, have not yet been made public, and their terms remain unknown. What is known is that after they have been made public and before it is intended to give effect to them, representation from the District Council will be invited and entertained. Should any of them commend themselves to His Highness, the Sultan, amendments may still be made accordingly.

While it is, of course, impossible to offer any comment on the undisclosed proposals themselves, it is submitted that District Councils constituted some three years ago and consisting of persons selected by His Highness from lists submitted as a result of voting by a show of hands at local meetings, are not apt bodies to voice the popular will. This is particularly so as they were never elected with the idea in mind that they might one day be charged with the duty of helping to frame a constitution for the State. Furthermore, events in Brunei have moved so rapidly since 1953 that even a popular election conducted at that date would no longer reflect the popular will of today.

It must be stressed that the present is truly a critical time in the affairs of the State. Without putting back the clock, without turning a deaf ear to facts, it cannot be denied that the people are every where becoming politically conscious. Even if they cannot yet formulate their own aspirations in detail, they do know the difference between councils through which their voice can be heard and those through which it is stifled. For the moment they are living in expectancy and hope. It would be unfortunate if their mood were to be changed to one of frustration. It is now, at this very time, that the ideal opportunity presents itself for enlisting their whole-hearted co-operation in the difficult work of government. The loyalty and goodwill are there in abundance. So is the ability. If there is a dearth of experience, there is no unreadiness to accept guidance. It is, therefore, on these grounds and in this spirit that the following independent proposals are made.

There is nothing startling in that which is proposed. What is desired is a constitutional monarchy whereby His Highness the sultan will act upon the advice of the people's own elected representatives. Briefly, it is suggested that there should be a Legislative Assembly consisting of say, 36 members, 27 of whom would be elected by universal adult male suffrage. The remaining nine members should be personally nominated by the Sultan, subject to the inclusion of at least two representatives of the Brunei Shell Petroleum Company Limited. The British Resident should be ex-officio the Speaker of the Assembly with a casting vote but no original vote.

As regards the elections, the State should be divided into a number of constituencies. On the basis of the present population each of the 27 elected members should represent on the average about 2,000 constituents. Owing, however, to the uneven distribution of the



population, it would not be practicable to divide the State evenly between 27 single-member constituencies. Area in which there is concentration of population should each form a single constituency returning several members in the ratio of roughly one to every 2,000 of the population.

Voting should be by secret ballot. This need present no practical difficulties. In other countries where there are voters who are unable to read or write, the use of symbols to denote the different candidates has worked perfectly well. Voting by a show of hands is notoriously subject to political pressure, real or imagined, and easily robs election of its democratic value.

The executive authority would be vested in the Government of the day. In forming this, His Highness the Sultan should be under a constitutional obligation to call upon the Leader of the party (if any) commanding a majority of votes in the Assembly to form a government, and should act on his advice in approving the list of proposed Ministers to hold office. The number and distribution of ministries could vary from time to time as His Highness (on the advice of the Government of the day) should determine. In the event of there being no party commanding a majority in the Assembly, the practice in the United Kingdom should be followed.

When the Government has been formed, the Leader above-mentioned would become the Chief Minister. While under the constitution it would be his duty to tender to His Highness the advice of his government, he himself should tender such advice only after consultation with the British Resident (to be called the British Adviser) as Agent of the British Government under the High Commissioner. The Minister responsible for Home Affairs (which should include Public Works Development) should act after consultation with the Seconded Officer in charge of Public Works Development. The Minister responsible for Finance should act after consultation with the State Financial Officer.

Without committing themselves in the respect of every and any particular individual, it is no part of the policy of the Party Rakyat at present or in the reasonably foreseeable future to seek to dispense with the services of the Seconded Officers. On the contrary, they propose to offer greater security of tenure of office to those officers whose efficiency and devotion to the State of Brunei has been demonstrated.

Following the established democratic practice, the Ministers would be personally responsible to the Legislature for the conduct of their officers, notwithstanding that they shall have acted on such advice as has been mentioned. It is, therefore, expected that the advice tendered to them would be tempered by reference to such criticism as might emerge in the course of debate in the Assembly.

It is further proposed that the maximum life of a government should be four years, after which a general election must be held. But nothing should prevent the holding of a general election sooner, should His Highness on the advice of the Government, decide to dissolve the Assembly. A general election should always be held within a maximum period of six weeks following a dissolution, and the outgoing Government would hold office as a caretaker meanwhile.

Within a maximum period of five years after the coming into force of the proposed constitution, Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in consultation with His Highness the Sultan and the Government of the day in Brunei should entertain revision of the constitution. There should also be some such provision in the constitution for its own reform e.g. by a resolution passed by a two-thirds majority in the Assembly in the same form in three successive years; a change of the constitution according to the terms of that resolution should thereupon become effective.

## **7. Possible Future Developments**

So much for the proposed future of the State of Brunei regarded by itself. It should not, however, it is submitted, be so regarded. Historically, what are now the three territories of Brunei, Sarawak and North Borneo were under one common Ruler. While an appeal to past history is not put forward as a meritorious argument in itself, the modern development of this one time Sultanate as three separate economic units does not appear to have operated to the advantage of any of them. For fiscal purposes and for purposes of internal administration they should, as things are, doubtless still remain separate. But frustrating restrictions on mutual immigration in search of work are not to the advantage of any of the units concerned. It is, therefore, envisaged that a federation of Brunei, Sarawak and North Borneo, each retaining for the purposes of internal government its own peculiar constitution, should be the objective to be pursued. It

might ultimately be to the advantage of their peoples and to the peoples of the Commonwealth as a whole to bear in mind the possibilities of yet further federation with other Malayan countries. That issue, however, is not one of the same urgency as the internal constitutional issue in Brunei, nor need it necessarily affect decisions involved in the steps which it is proposed should forthwith be taken.

We, therefore, of Party Rakyat, for and in the name of the people of Brunei, request Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to accept this Memorandum. We also respectfully ask that Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies may be pleased to accept in London a small delegation from Brunei at some early date (such as September 1957), to support the proposals set out in this Memorandum and to answer any objections which may be raised to any of those proposals, before Her Majesty's Government finally decides upon the advice which they would be prepared to tender to and agree with His Highness the Sultan, in their negotiations for the establishment in Brunei of a new Constitution.

**PENGUMUMAN YANG DIBUAT OLEH TUAN J.O.  
GILBERT, RESIDENT BRITISH DI BRUNEI  
MENGENAI CADANGAN PERLEMBAGAAN NEGERI  
BRUNEI PADA 25HB. JULAI 1957**

1. Tiada berapa lama lagi Duli Yang Maha Mulia, Al Sultan akan menyampaikan kepada Majlis Mesyuarat Negeri dan kepada Majlis-majlis Mesyuarat Daerah, dan untuk diperbincangkan oleh Majlis-majlis mesyuarat tersebut, sebuah rang undang-undang yang memberikan satu Perlembagaan tertulis bagi Negeri Brunei. Rang undang-undang itu akan menerangkan dengan ringkas, susunan-susunan dasar undang-undang tersebut.

2. Sultan diistiharkan dan diakui sebagai Ketua Agama yang rasmi dalam Negeri, dengan agama Islam, menurut Ahli-Sunnah Waljammah. Akan tetapi semua agama yang lain boleh dilancarkan dalam Negeri oleh orang-orang yang menganutnya.

3. Sultan diakui sebagai Ketua bagi pihak Executive dan Kepala Kuasa Executive akan dijalankan atas nama Baginda.

4. Tiga buah majlis mesyuarat akan ditubuhkan iaitu, Privy Council, Executive Council dan Legislative Council.

5. Peraturan bagi perlantikan-perlantikan seorang Menteri Besar, seorang Setiausaha Negeri dan seorang Pegawai Kewangan Negeri adalah suatu perkara yang telah dikemukakan oleh Duli Yang Maha Mulia Al Sultan kepada Pesuruh Jaya Tinggi untuk dipertimbangkan dan disampaikannya kepada Setiausaha Negara, Kerajaan British untuk persetujuan bersamanya.

6. Privy Council akan mengandungi:-

(i) Lima orang para anggota ex-officio;

(ii) Beberapa orang para anggota lantikan yang akan dilantik oleh Sultan duduk di dalam Council. Tiap-tiap anggota tersebut akan memegang jawatan selama dikehendaki Sultan dan menurut jangka waktu yang diisharatkan di dalam Surat Perlantikannya.

Privy Council akan bertanggungjawab:-

- (a) Menasihatkan Sultan dalam menjalankan kedaulatannya memberi ampun;
- (b) bagi segala upacara Negeri;
- (c) bagi segala urusan Negeri lainnya yang dihakkan kepada Council ini oleh Undang-undang.

7. Executive Council akan dipanggil “Majlis Mesyuarat Kerajaan” dalam bahasa Melayu, dan ianya akan mengandungi:-

- (a) Sultan sebagai President;
- (b) Tujuh orang anggota ex-officio;
- (c) Seorang anggota rasmi dari Legislative Council;
- (d) Tujuh orang para anggota tidak rasmi, yang hendaklah menjadi para anggota Majlis-Majlis Mesyuarat Daerah;
- (e) Beberapa orang para anggota sementara yang akan dilantik oleh Sultan menggantikan tempat yang mana sahaja yang dikosongkan oleh para anggota yang tersebut di dalam fasal-fasal (b) hingga (d) di atas.

8. Para anggota rasmi dan tidak rasmi dan sementara, akan menduduki kerusinya dalam Executive Council menurut kehendak Sultan tetapi akan terpaksa meletakkan jawatannya selepas tiga tahun, walaupun mereka dibolehkan dipilih atau, dilantik semula bagi jangka-jangka waktu tiga tahun selanjutnya.

9. Executive Council hanya boleh dipanggil mesyuarat oleh perintah dari Sultan.

10. Sultan dikehendaki berunding dengan Executive Council kecuali dalam perkara-perkara:-

- (a) yang kalau diadakan rundingan akan mengakibatkan kerosakan kepada Negeri;
- (b) yang sesungguhnya tidak begitu penting supaya mesti menghendakkan nasihat Council; atau
- (c) sekiranya perkara itu sungguh-sungguh penting sehingga tidak cukup masa hendak memanggil Council bermesyuarat.

11. Sultan boleh mengambil keputusan berlawanan atau dengan tidak menurut nasihat bilangan besar para anggota Executive Council, tetapi apabila berbuat demikian Baginda mestilah memberi sebab-sebab secara bertulis, yang akan disertakan di dalam minit-minit mesyuarat dan selain dari itu siapa sahaja anggota boleh meminta nasihatnya dicatatkan di dalam minit-minit mesyuarat.

12. Legislative Council akan dipanggil “Majlis Mesyuarat Negeri” dalam bahasa Melayu, dan ianya akan mengandungi:-

- (a) seorang President;
- (b) lima orang anggota ex-officio;
- (c) enam orang anggota rasmi yang terdiri dari orang-orang yang ada memegang jawatan-jawatan dalam perkhidmatan umum dan
- (d) lima belas orang anggota tidak rasmi, yang empat orang daripadanya hendaklah daripada orang-orang yang tidak ada memegang jawatan-jawatan dalam perkhidmatan umum (dan daripada ini tidak kurang dari dua orang hendaklah terdiri dari orang-orang yang dilantik mewakili pihak-pihak yang menurut anggapan Sultan tidak secukupnya diwakili dalam Majlis) dan sebelas orang akan diambil dari Majlis-majlis Mesyuarat Daerah.

13. Para anggota yang rasmi dan yang tidak rasmi akan dilantik oleh Sultan, akan tetapi tidak ada seorang pun berkecualan dilantik melainkan:-

- (a) dianya ialah seorang rakyat Brunei atau seorang rakyat British;
- (b) dia berusia 25 tahun atau lebih;
- (c) dianya tidak kehilangan Kelayakan oleh sebab:-
  - (i) sesuatu pengakuannya kepada sebuah negeri asing terkeluar dari Commonwealth;
  - (ii) fikirannya tidak waras;
  - (iii) kecuali oleh sebab-sebab yang tertentu, telah dipenjara

oleh sebab sesuatu kesalahan atau sudah dihukum oleh mahkamah terhadap sesuatu kesalahan bersangkutan dengan kecurangan;

(iv) seorang bankrupt yang belum mendapat kebebasan;

14. Kesebelas orang anggota dari Majlis-majlis Mesyuarat Daerah akan dipilih oleh Majlis-majlis Mesyuarat Daerah itu sendiri dan perlantikan-perlantikannya dilakukan menurut persetujuan Sultan.

15. Keputusan-keputusan mengenai soal-soal bersangkut-paut dengan kelayakan para anggota Legislative Council akan diperbuat oleh Sultan di dalam Executive Council.

16. Legislative Council akan membuat undang-undang bagi keamanan, keselamatan dan kesempurnaan pemerintahan Negeri.

17. Kecuali dalam sebilangan kecil perkara sahaja, siapa jua anggota. Menurut syarat-syarat Standing Orders, mengesyorkan apa jua hal atau cadangan; tetapi tiap-tiap Bill seperti tersebut mestilah disiarkan di dalam Gazette sebelum ianya dikemukakan di dalam persidangan Legislative Council.

18. Legislative Council tidak boleh, kalau tidak dengan persetujuan Sultan dan Pesuruh Jaya Tinggi, menerus membincangkan mana jua Bill:-

- (a) yang memperlibat mata wang atau kewangan-kewangan Negeri;
- (b) yang kandungan-kandungannya didapati tidak sejajar dengan mana jua treaty atau perjanjian yang telah diperbuat oleh Sultan atau Queen;
- (c) yang bersangkut-paut dengan pertahanan atau keselamatan umum atau apa jua perkara memperlibat tata tertib, kawalan, atau pergerakan angkatan-angkatan Queen dengan darat, laut atau udara.

19. Bahasa rasmi dalam Legislative Council ialah bahasa Melayu, akan tetapi President boleh membenarkan para anggota bercakap dalam bahasa lain menerusi seorang jurubahasa. Satu siaran rasmi menceritakan perjalanan persidangan Majlis Mesyuarat akan

dikeluarkan di dalam kedua-dua bahasa Inggeris dan Melayu.

20. Tiap-tiap anggota Legislative Council akan dibolehkan menyatakan pendapatnya dengan bebas di dalam Majlis Mesyuarat mengenai sebarang perkara yang diperbincangkan. Sultan dan Pesuruh Jaya Tinggi mempunyai hak dan kuat kuasa bercakap dalam Legislative Council bila-bila sahaja dan terhadap sebarang perkara.

21. Sultan boleh menangguhkan Legislative Council bila-bila sahaja dengan mengeluarkan perintah yang disiarkan di dalam Gazette.



## CONFIDENTIAL

### NOTE OF MEETING HELD AT THE COLONIAL OFFICE ON THURSDAY, 26th SEPTEMBER, 1957

#### Present

Sir John Martin (in the Chair)

Inche A.M. Azahari

Inche Jassin Affendi

Inche Zaini Haji Ahmad

} Party Rakyat delegation

Mr. Walter Raeburn, Q.C. (Constitutional Adviser to Party Raayat)

Mr. E. Melville (Colonial Office)

Mr. A.D. Pryke Howard

1. **Sir John Martin** after welcoming the Delegation said that he wished it to be clearly understood that he was not in a position to give an answer to the Delegation's representations. He would, of course, report to the Secretary of State what was said at this meeting, the purpose of which might be to elaborate and clarify any points that needed clarification in the written memorandum that the Secretary of State had already received. The Delegation were not aware when they wrote it, of the Sultan's proposals for a Constitution Enactment, the text of which had now been published in Brunei, so that it might be discussed there and so that the Sultan might be made aware of the views of his people. The Sultan hoped that it would prove possible for the new Constitution to be put into operation next year, but that would depend on how quickly drafting could be completed. In publishing his proposals the Sultan had said that it was his intention that 16 members of the District Councils should be elected by secret ballot and that the District Councils should elect direct to the Legislative Council the prescribed members.

2. **Sir John Martin** said that, in the Secretary of State's view, the Sultan's proposals were wise and represented as great an advance as was possible at this stage.

3. **Sir John Martin** regretted to have to say that two things done by the Party Raayat had created a bad impression. Firstly there was the circular just issued on behalf of the Party instructing their members to boycott the Sultan's Constitution. Secondly the Party's written

memorandum should have been submitted in the first place to the Sultan so that he could forward it to the Secretary of State with his comments.

4. **Mr. Azahari** said that anything that was done was due to political conditions in Brunei. Decisions that were taken were not the decisions of the leaders but decisions of the party members.

5. **Sir John Martin** said that our advice would be to try and work the constitution. The Sultan's proposals had been published for discussion. The proper place for discussion was Brunei. The Party Raayat should co-operate in the constitution, then, if they wished, work for changes from inside. Mr. Azahari could get elected to a District Council, in which he could express his opinions in a democratic way. He could also be elected by a District Council to the Legislative Council if he had sufficient support. The democratic method was not boycott but change from within. The record of all British Governments showed that their practical sympathy was with the idea of people taking an increasing part in their own government, but progress must be by orderly stages. The British Government had only once had to take a retrograde step and even there was not stepping forward again. The basic question was one of pace and stages. Up till now the people of Brunei had no experience of democratic government. Our feeling was that the memorandum mapped out a course which a political party might take as their long-term programme; but it went much too far in one jump. It was not in the Malay tradition to go too fast. They should remember the Malay proverb "Biar lambat, asal selamat" (slow but sure).

6. **Mr. Azahari** said that the panel system left everything in the Sultan's hands. The Sultan is to be chairman of the Executive Council contrary to his statement that he would not take part in politics. The Party's memorandum was a very reasonable and moderate document.

7. **Sir John Martin** read the explanatory statement made in Brunei by the British Resident. He said that this statement showed that the Constitution gave the people a real share in the Government. Our advice — and we had had much experience in introducing constitution — was that the delegation should go back to Brunei and after consideration of the published, text put forward constructive proposals for such amendments as they wanted. It would be for the sultan to consider these, along with any others he received from his people, and then to decide on the final form of the Enactment, in

consultation with the Secretary of State. Thereafter, the Party Raayat should co-operate in making the constitution work and press for further amendments through democratic means.

8. **Mr. Raeburn** said he wished to clear up one point. When he was in the Brunei he was told that Mr. Azahari was taboo to the Sultan, and that the Sultan was not prepared to see him (Mr. Raeburn). The British Resident had tried to intercede with the Sultan who then agreed to see him on his last day there and then only on condition on politics were not mentioned. In these circumstances, he had advised his clients to invoke the Secretary of State's power of advice, in the terms of the last paragraph of the memorandum. The British Resident did not object to the procedure. In the event the Sultan did see him and they did discuss politics but it was then too late to alter the procedure that had been decided upon. He did, however, give His Highness an account of the contents of the memorandum and was thanked for doing so. Mr. Raeburn also wished to point out that Brunei town where Mr. Azahari was resident was not to have an elected Council.

9. **Sir John Martin** said that whatever previous proposals may have been it was clear to him that the intention now was that all District Councils should be elected by secret ballot. In any event this was the type of thing that should be discussed locally. He would enquire about the position of Brunei town in future district elections.

10. **Mr. Raeburn** said that to propose local discussion did not take into account local conditions. Mr. Azahari could only discuss with his followers. District Councils were not vehicles for democratic discussion. They represented nobody except by chance. **Sir John Martin** said that this was a difficulty common to all emerging democracies. People must learn to walk before they could run. They should therefore get the Constitution going which would give the people the experience which was not there at present in the working and growth of democracy.

11. **Mr. Raeburn** asked whether, if the district Councils approved of the constitution, it would be put into effect. **Sir John Martin** pointed out that the Sultan's press release said that he wanted to know his peoples' views and would consider any representations or amendments proposed to him. The Sultan's tradition was that he was open to hear all complaints, proposals and petitions. This was no case of

holding a plebiscite but simply one of affording a general opportunity for comment. It was doubtful if any major changes would result as so much thought had already been given to the matter.

12. **Mr. Raeburn** said that the composition of the Executive Council was in effect the same as that of the Old State Council. **Sir John Martin** said that there could be on the new Council, people who have stood successfully for election to a District Council.

13. **Mr. Azahari** said the Brunies were the same as other people, they thought the same thought and wanted to get a real democratic constitution. **Sir John Martin** said the way to do that was to get elected representatives on the District Councils, and a working constitution. Only thus could constitutional government begin. To oppose a constitution was to do nothing.

14. **Mr. Raeburn** said that the Resident's statement made it appear doubtful whether the election of the District Councils would be introduced along with the new constitution. **Sir John Martin** said that it was the wish of the Secretary of State that elections by secret ballot should be introduced as soon as possible; but it would take time to draw up the necessary legislation and to prepare electoral rolls, and he could not say whether this would get in with the bringing into force of the constitution.

15. In closing the meeting, **Sir John Martin** said that the Secretary of State might hesitate to receive the delegation, because of the action in issuing instruction to boycott the constitution. This was not a right method and not a method which was helpful to progress. He would however report today's discussion to the Secretary of State and take his further instructions.

Colonial Office,  
8th October, 1957.

## CONFIDENTIAL

### NOTE ON MEETING HELD IN THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S ROOM ON MONDAY, 30th SEPTEMBER, 1957

Present:

The Secretary of State for the Colonies

Lord Perth (for part only)

Mr. E. Melville

Mr. A.D. Pryke Howard

Inche A.M. Azahari

Inche Jassin Affandi

Inche Zaini Haji Ahmad

Mr. Walter Raeburn, Q.C. (Constitutional Adviser to Party Rakyat)

An Interpreter

1: **The Secretary of State** welcomed the delegation. He liked to feel that the doors of the Colonial Office were always open to visitors from overseas but he had had some hesitation, on this occasion, in agreeing to see the delegation himself. In the first place, they had submitted their memorandum direct to him instead of to His Highness the Sultan of Brunei, which would not only have been the correct but also the polite procedure. Secondly, the Party Raayat had recently issued a circular ordering their members to boycott the Sultan's Constitution. This was as undemocratic thing to do. He had put these doubts to His Highness who had, however, suggested that he should receive the delegation.

2. **Mr. Reaburn** asked for permission to explain why the memorandum was submitted to the Secretary of State and not to the Sultan. When he was in Brunei, the Party Raayat were taboo to His Highness, who had refused to see him until his last day and then only on the condition that politics were not discussed. In these circumstances, and after consulting the British Resident, he was satisfied that the correct procedure would be to submit the memorandum through the British Resident and High Commissioner to the Secretary of State. Care had been taken in the last paragraph of the memorandum to reserve the Sultan's constitutional position. In the event, the Sultan did receive him and politics were discussed but it was then too late to alter the arrangements for handling the memorandum.

3. **The Secretary of State** having thanked Mr. Raeburn for this explanation, which he noted, asked whether or not the memorandum was written before the publication of the sultan's constitutional proposals. In any event, the Party Raayat would no doubt now, wish to reconsider it in the light of a careful study of the published text and of His Highness' explanatory statement.

4. **Mr. Azahari** said that the memorandum represented independent proposals.

5. **The Secretary of State** said that he welcomed the declaration in it of loyalty to the Sultan and the desire expressed for closer relations with other members of the Commonwealth. He had read the proposals with interest but felt they represented far too rapid and substantial a move forward at the present stage of political development. He thought the Sultan's proposals were very wise and he fully supported them. His advice to the Party Raayat was to return home to study the Sultan's proposals and if they felt it necessary to submit their proposals or amendments to the Sultan-in-Council, where he had no doubt they would receive full consideration.

6. **Mr. Azahari** asked if a copy of the Party's comment should be sent to the Secretary of State.

7. **The Secretary of State** said that this would not be proper. Comments should properly go to the Sultan. He had no doubt that His Highness would forward them in full with his own observations. His strong advice was that the Party should set out to work the Constitution in whatever form it emerged and press for any further amendments they desired from within, and by constitutional means.

8. **Mr. Raeburn** said that his clients had not had time to study the draft text in detail but certain points emerged which gave cause for disquiet. Firstly while Section 47 gave the right of free speech to every member of the Legislative Council, this right was only given on terms. By virtue of Section 25, members held their seats during the Sultan's pleasure. Could the Sultan be relied on not to exercise this power against persons who expressed ideas contrary to his own?

9. **The Secretary of State** said that given good will on both sides he saw no reason why there should be any difficulties in the exercise of

such powers by the Sultan.

10. **Mr. Raeburn** then criticised Clause 24(c) as involving the life-long disqualification of Mr. Azahari from membership of the Legislative council and Clause 68 as giving the Sultan the right to make any order he wished and free hand to deal with opposition of any kind to the bringing into force of his proposal. Moreover, it was almost impossible for the constitution to be revised; the Sultan could forbid under Clause 34 the discussion of any Bill or any motion suggesting a revision; under Clause 34 a two-thirds majority was necessary, which meant that non-elected members would have to be in favour; and finally any amendments passed by the Legislature could be disallowed by the Sultan.

11. **The Secretary of State** pointed out that the new Constitution was a dramatic change and that safeguards were necessary.

12. **Mr. Raeburn** said that, in an earlier discussion, Sir John Martin had elaborated on the advantages of the new Constitution. His client could not agree that a constitution which provided, for example, for only one-third of the Legislative Assembly to be elected, and then only indirectly, fulfilled the Sultan's declared objective of giving his people a democratic voice in the government of the country. Sir John Martin had said that it was necessary to gain electoral experience and to proceed by stages towards greater constitutional freedom while accepting safeguards now. How could the people have confidence that the power retained in autocratic hands would not be abused?

13. **The Secretary of State** said that he could not accept the implications of Mr. Raeburn's remarks regarding the Sultan's power. He wished to know if Mr. Azahari had anything to say.

14. **Mr. Azahari** said that the Party Raayat has tried to find a method of communicating with the Sultan but had been unable to do so. They had therefore decided that the only way of making themselves heard was to come to London. The matter had to be looked at from several angles. The Memorandum represented very moderate requests. He hoped that the Secretary of State would consider the introduction of a constitution as desired by the Memorandum. In answer to the charge that the Party Raayat desired to boycott the constitution, this was done to show they had strength. It was the only way to show the aspirations of the people. He hoped the Secretary of State would

consider and give his answer to the Memorandum while the delegation was in London.

14. **The Secretary of State** said that he had already made it clear that proposals for or amendment to the new Constitution must be submitted to the Sultan in Council who would consider them along with any other representations. He had no doubt that His Highness would then consult the Secretary of State again. But this could be till some time after His Highness had returned to Brunei. Meanwhile there could be no question of his sending a reply to the Memorandum, and he hoped Mr. Azahari would make this clear to his followers when he returned.

15. **Mr. Azahari** said the voice of the Party Raayat were not listened to by the high officers. His proposals were these:

1. The autocratic power of the Sultan should be abolished.
2. The Sultan should not be Chairman of the Executive.
3. The percentage of elected Members should be increased and that the Legislative Assembly should be chosen by direct election.
4. That the Executive Council should work through a Chief Minister and
5. That Menteri Besar should not be appointed.

16. **The Secretary of State** closed the meeting by advising the delegation to return to Brunei, and, having submitted their views on the published proposals to His Highness the Sultan, to prove their fitness to play a part in the Government of the State by working the new Constitution as it was finally enacted.

Colonial Office,  
8th October, 1957.



**MEMORANDUM CONTAINING OBSERVATIONS AND  
PETITIONS ON THE PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL  
ENACTMENT SUBMITTED BY THE PARTAI RAKYAT  
BRUNEI (PRB) ON 23RD JANUARY, 1958**

**STATE OF BRUNEI**

**TO HIS HIGHNESS THE SULTAN IN COUNCIL**

In response to the invitation which has been issued by YOUR HIGHNESS, calling upon your subjects to offer comments on the proposed Constitutional Enactment, we on behalf of Party Rakyat, venture respectfully to submit, for the serious and favourable consideration of Your Highness, the following Observations and petition.

**OBSERVATION**

We have been given to understand that it is the intention of Your Highness in granting to your subjects a Constitution:

- (1) To delegate to your subjects a share in the government of the state, and for that purpose to surrender, to a substantial degree, the autocratic power at present vested in your Highness, and
- (2) In particular, to establish a Legislative Council through which the voice of Your Highness' subjects can be genuinely heard.

Having studied with great care the published print of the proposed Enactment, we note with dismay that it is at present so framed as to fail to achieve either of these intended reforms. We therefore respectfully invite Your Highness's attention to each of them in turn.

**1. Autocratic Powers**

According to the draft Constitution, Your Highness is to retain the following (amongst other) powers:-

- (a) The APPOINTMENT, when Your Highness shall think fit, of a Menteri Besar, a State Secretary and a State Financial Officer, all three of whom are to become *ex officio* Members of all three proposed Councils. (clauses 4 (2))

- (b) **The APPOINTMENT of all except the ex officio Members of the proposed Executive Council. (clauses 9 (2)).**
- (c) **The APPOINTMENT of 21 out of the 28 Members of the Legislative Council, the other 7 being the President and the ex officio Members. (clauses 22 (2))**
- (d) **The right to DISMISS FROM OFFICE At Your Highness' pleasure all but ex officio Members of the Executive Council (clause 10 (1)), and every Official and Unofficial Member of the Legislative Council. (clause 26 (1))**
- (e) **The right to DECLARE INCAPABLE of discharging his functions, and accordingly to UNSEAT, for such reason as to Your Highness may appear to be good and sufficient, any Member (other than a Regent or an ex officio Member) of the Executive Council (clause 10(5)), and any Member (other than an ex officio Member) of the Legislative Council. (clause 25(5)).**
- (f) **The right, for a like reason, to SUSPEND any such Member of either Council. (clauses 10(6) and 25(6)).**
- (g) **The enjoyment of the PERSONAL POSITION of President of the Executive Council (clause 9(1)) (a)., which is in itself entirely free from any control by the Legislative Council.**
- (h) **The continuation of the existing right to act as the "Sultan in Council" NOT NECESSARILY in accordance with the advice of the Executive Council NOR NECESSARILY in such council assembled. (clause 2(1)).**
- (i) **The right to PREVENT the Executive Council from being summoned by withholding the necessary authority. (clause 14(1))**
- (j) **The exclusive right to DETERMINE the adequacy of a RESIDENTIAL QUALIFICATION such as to fit a person for appointment to the Legislative Council. (clause 23(1)(a))**
- (k) **The EXCLUSIVE DISCRETION to grant a PERSONAL EXEMPTION from absolute and permanent disqualification of a person for appointment to the Legislative Council on the**

ground that he has once served a term of imprisonment. **(clause 24(c))**

- (l) The enjoyment (as the “Sultan in Council”) of the LAST WORD as to the right to any person TO BE OR REMAIN an Official or an Unofficial Member of the Legislative Council. (clause 26).**
- (m) The right to fill all CASUAL VACANCIES on the Legislative Council. (clause 27(1)).**
- (n) A VETO (enjoyed concurrently with the High Commissioner) on any Bill of proposed amendment when thinking that it seeks to AMEND the provisions of the CONSTITUTION ENACTMENT (clause 34(1)(d)), exercisable at any time before giving the assent (clause 34(2) without which no Bill can become law (clause 37(1)) and even though the only way by which the Constitutional Enactment can be amended is by a Bill passed by not less than two-thirds of all the Members of the Legislative Council. (clause 67).**
- (o) A general power, where considering it expedient in the interests of public order, good faith or good government of the State, (clause 39(1)), to OVERRIDE THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL should it fail to pass a Bill or carry a motion, except (clause 39(3)), as to the amendment of the Constitutional Enactment.**
- (p) The right to ADRESS THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL at any time upon any matter, (clause 48).**
- (q) Unlimited power to PROROGUE the Legislative Council. (clause 49).**
- (r) The right to have preserved ALL AUTOCRATIC POWERS not taken away by the Constitutional Enactment itself. (clause 66).**
- (s) The overriding power (albeit for a limited period) to meet any obstruction encountered when bringing the Constitutional Enactment into operation, by effect SUSPENDING THE NEW CONSTITUTION and ruling arbitrarily. (clause 68).**

It is true that Your Highness has proposed in certain cases that if you shall act opposition to the judgement respectively of your Privy

Council (**clause 7(2)**) or of your Executive Council (**clause 17(1)**), you will record your reason fully in writing for inclusion in the minutes, and that minutes of the proceeding of the Privy Council shall be kept and a transcript of these shall be sent to the High Commissioner. (**clause 18**). It is also true that Your Highness is ready to impose upon yourself certain undertakings to report what you have done, should you have taken emergency action without having consulted the Executive Council. (**clause 16**). We observe, too, that Your Highness will concede to a Member of the Executive Council against whose advice you have thought fit to act, the right to have his opinion fully recorded. (**clause 17(2)**).

But while these concessions are indeed appreciated, they can amount in practice to nothing in the way of a delegation to Your Highness' subject of a share in the government.

We also note the right of any Member of the Legislative Council to introduce a Bill or propose a motion for debate (**clause 32**), but are disturbed to find that right is qualified out of all effective existence, so far as any attempt at constitutional development is concerned, by Your Highness' right of veto, already noted under (n) above.

We further note what appears to be the one substantial concession to democracy, that is to say, the apparently unqualified liberty given to every Member of the Legislative Council to express his opinion freely in that Council upon any matter which comes before it. (**clause 47**).

In this connection, however, we cannot help observing with some misgiving the fact that every Official and Unofficial Member of that council, holdings his seat only during Your Highness' pleasure (**clause 25(1)**), and being subject at Your Highness' discretion to expulsion as being incapable of discharging his functions (**clause 25(5)**), or to suspension for an indefinite time (**clause 25(6)**), is bound to bear such liability in mind when considering how far it may be prudent to exercise the right of free speech.

If the opening words of (**clause 25(1)**), which read, "Subject to the provisions of this Enactment..." are intended to make tenure of a seat in the Legislative Council during Your Highness' pleasure subject to an absolute right of free speech, then we would respectfully ask that those words should be amended so as to make this meaning clear

beyond the possibility of argument.

We would also, however, draw attention to the fact that the power to disqualify for incapacity and the power to suspend (**clause 25(5)(6)**) are not made subject to any other provisions.

We can find no other concessions in the proposed Enactment.

By the foregoing analysis of the proposed Constitutional Enactment we have, as we venture to believe, demonstrated that in spite of the introduction of certain constitutional forms, for all practical purposes, all the autocratic powers at present vested in Your Highness will be retained unimpaired, and the intention which we understand Your Highness to have of delegating to your subjects share in the government of State, still remain wholly unfulfilled.

While we can fully appreciate that there may will be no personal intention on the part of Your Highness to arbitrarily give effect to autocratic powers, under the proposed Enactment there would be nothing to prevent some other holder of Your Highness' exalted office from packing both the Executive and the Legislative Councils with sycophants and office-seekers. (We have made no reference to like provisions relative to the Privy Council, since the functions to be assigned to that body are such as would normally come within the scope of the royal prerogative). There would be nothing to prevent him from forcing through whatever legislation he wished, and from stifling promptly every attempt at voicing opposition, nor would there be any lawful means whatever of bringing about an amendment to the constitution designed in any way to curtail the use of autocratic power.

A constitution which depends entirely for its safeguards on the benevolent forbearance of the Sovereign himself, is in effect no constitution at all.

## **2. A Democratic Legislature**

The proposed Constitutional Enactment provides for a wholly nominated Legislative Council to which the executive authority is in no way answerable. There is no share for the subject in the responsibility of government nor is there any guarantee that the voice of the people will be heard at all. Admittedly, 11 Members out of the 28 will be

selected for appointment by Your Highness from among a number (at present unknown) of District Councillors, who will be elected, we have been told, by some form of popular secret ballot. It does not follow, however, that even if the great majority of District Councillors so elected were members of a popular movement, any of the persons appointed to sit in the Legislative Council would be selected from among that majority. An "opposition" could always be excluded. It could certainly be prevented from ever being able to muster more than a minority of votes.

To shut out the voice of the people from the Legislature is to force it to be raised outside, and to promote conflict instead of harmony between government and people.

For this reason we respectfully urge upon Your Highness a reconsideration of the constitution of the proposed legislative Council, so that it may consist as to three-quarter only of Your Highness' nominees. This, it is suggested, should be quite independent of elections to District Councils, although we see no objection to District Councillors also standing for election to the Legislative Council.

## PETITION

BELIEVING that Your Highness, in offering a constitution to your subjects, is actuated by a true concern for their welfare;

BELIEVING that Your Highness is ready to recognise that your subjects are eager and able to bear a share in the government of the State;

BELIEVING that it is not the intention of Your Highness to exercise autocratic powers so as stifle the voice of your people and to silence all opposition;

BELIEVING that the retention of autocratic power is a standing temptation to the Ruler and a standing provocation to the subject;

WE HUMBLY PETITION Your Highness to reconsider the proposed Constitutional Enactment and to amend it:-

- A. By renouncing and excluding, in favour of the subject, certain of Your Highness' personal powers analysed above, and in

particular:-

**(c) & (m)**

**PERSONAL CONTROL** over more than one-quarter of the seats in the Legislative Council, whether such seats shall be filled by direct nominees of Your Highness or by **ex officio** Members.

**(d) (e) & (f)**

**PERSONAL CONTROL** over the security of tenure of his seat of any Member of the Legislative Council.

So that freedom of speech may be genuinely guaranteed, such Members should be irremovable during the three years' limit laid down in the Enactment, otherwise than on an automatic disqualification by a criminal conviction, bankruptcy or a transfer of allegiance to another state.

**(g) & (p)**

**PERSONAL PARTICIPATION** in politics by presiding over the Executive Council or addressing the Legislative Council.

We earnestly entreat Your Highness to adopt the practice of the British Monarch, and to stand above and outside politics, so that none of Your Highness' subjects may ever be justified in feeling that his Sultan is his political opponent.

**(j) & (l)**

**PERSONAL JUDGMENT** (whether in Council or otherwise) upon the adequacy of a residential qualification or other qualification or right of any person to be or to remain a Member of the Legislative Council.

These are purely legal questions, and should be properly determined in a court of law.

**(k)**

**EXCLUSIVE PERSONAL DISCRETION** to relieve anyone from disqualification from sitting in the Legislative Council on the

ground of his having served a term of imprisonment.

While it is only right that the prerogative of mercy should always remain in Your Highness to relieve any of your subjects from a civil disability, we respectfully submit that this should be additional to and not exclusive of the automatic expiry of such a disability after a period of not more than 5 years.

(n)

**THE ABSOLUTE VETO** on amendments to the Constitutional Enactment.

A vigorous and progressive people, such as are Your Highness' subjects, out grow a written constitution. Unless there is effective machinery for its adaptation to changed circumstances, great unhappiness may result.

It is not unreasonable, therefore, to ask Your Highness to share with your subjects the responsibility for guiding the constitution through its necessary growth and development. In a Legislative Council, at least three quarters of which is popularly elected, the necessity for a two-thirds majority is well appreciated. But that does not apply to a Council consisting to a greater extent than one-quarter of nominees and *ex officio* Members.

We therefore ask that any Bill to amend the Constitutional Enactment may be freely introduced into and passed by the Legislative Council. If passed by a two-thirds majority, it may be delayed for one session only by the exercise of Your Highness' veto. It may then, however, be reintroduced and if passed again, this time by a simple majority, can be further delayed for one session by the joint veto of Your Highness and the Commissioner, but not otherwise. If so vetoed, but nevertheless passed yet again by a simple majority in a third session, it must then become law.

(o)

**PERSONAL POWER** to give legal effect to a Bill which the Legislative Council has failed to pass.

We recognise that situations can arise in which emergency laws



may have to be enacted, but not that power so to legislate should be permanent and at large. Such enactments should have the force of law for a limited period (such as six months) only, without prejudice to their renewal should a state of emergency still persist. But in the case of a renewal, full reasons in writing should be placed on record, and a copy supplied to the High Commissioner.

(q)

**PERSONAL DISCRETION** at any time to prorogue the Legislative Council.

As the arbitrary exercise of such a discretion could have the effect of suspending the constitution, its force should be limited to a period not exceeding three months on any one occasion.

(s)

**PERSONAL POWER** to legislate at will in the event of difficulty in bringing the Constitutional Enactment into force.

While this tremendous power is strictly limited in time, and is clearly not intended to be used for the purpose of oppression, its possibilities are such that we earnestly ask that it shall not be exercised until full reasons shall first have been submitted in writing both to the Executive Council and to the High Commissioner, and until the complete concurrence both of that Council and of the High Commissioner shall thereafter have been secured.

- B. By conceding to Your Highness' subjects a three-quarters representation in the proposed Legislative Council, consisting of persons popularly and directly elected by secret ballot on a basis of adult male suffrage.

To these **OBSERVATIONS AND PETITION** we have set our signatures for and on behalf of **PARTY RAKYAT OF BRUNEI**.

## **PETIKAN SEBAHAGIAN DARIPADA**

**KENYATAAN YANG DIKELUARKAN OLEH PARTAI RAKYAT BRUNEI (PRB) PADA 5hb. DISEMBER 1959 SEBAGAI JAWAPAN KEPADA PERLEMBAGAAN 1959 YANG DIPAKSAKAN KEPADA RAKYAT BRUNEI. KENYATAAN INI DITANDATANGANI OLEH SAUDARA A.M. AZAHARI SELAKU KETUA UMUM PRB**

- a. Bahawa Inggeris akan mempertahankan dan mengekalkan Semi Asbolute Monarch dan cara pemerintahan Colonial Administration melalui saluran kuasa yang dipusatkan (Concentrated Power), yang sangat bertentangan dengan dasar-dasar demokrasi.
- b. Bahawa Inggeris dalam dasarnya secara langsung bertujuan menghinakan Baginda Sultan dan Rakyat Baginda seluruhnya baik dimata dunia Barat ataupun dimata dunia Timur; dan
- c. Bahawa Inggeris menghendaki timbulnya perpecahan yang meluas antara Paduka Seri Baginda dengan rakyat Baginda.

### **Huraian**

Inggeris memandang dari segi approach geo-politik, bukan memandang Negeri Brunei sahaja, malah seluruh Kalimantan Utara. Menurut pandangan Inggeris, dalam masa yang singkat tidak ada kuasa yang dapat menahan percantuman ketiga daerah di Kalimantan Utara menurut sejarahnya dan lebih-lebih kalau dipandang dari segi kepentingan ekonomi, social dan kebudayaannya. Tetapi Inggeris mengetahui bahawa dasar percantuman itu tidak lagi salah dan silap kalau dikatakan berdasar kepada bentuk (struktur) negara yang bersifat Parliamentary Constitutional Monarch, dan sistem percantuman Kalimantan Utara itu adalah berlandaskan cita-cita nasionalisma (inspirasi nasionalisma) yang dicetuskan oleh rakyat Kalimantan Utara sendiri.

Lalu Inggeris merasa ragu-ragu, kalau percantuman itu ujud, mungkin akan timbul puak-puak pelampau atau extreme nasionalis yang akan menentang kepentingan Inggeris baik dari sudut ekonomi atau pertahanan, iaitu bila Kalimantan Utara sudah menjadi negara yang merdeka dan berdaulat. Dari itu Inggeris sangat pintar memberikan satu constitution kepada Negeri Brunei atas dasar yang

sangat berlawanan dengan rukun-rukun demokrasi (anti democracy);

Oleh yang demikian tidak ada harapan rakyat dari Sarawak dan Sabah bersatu dengan Brunei, serentak dengan itu, sama sekali tidak ada kemungkinan rakyat kedua daerah itu mengakui Paduka Seri Baginda Maulana Al Sultan sebagai Raja mereka, sebab ramai rakyat Kalimantan Utara yang maseh ingat kepada bahaya-bahaya pemerintahan dibawah sisten absolute monarch atau Otokrasi. Buktinya, bukan hanya Kalimantan Utara dibawah pemerintahan otokrasi, malah semua negeri yang mengamalkan pemerintahan otokrasi didunia sama mengalami kepahitannya. Dari itu Inggeris berpendapat percantuman daerah di Kalimantan Utara pada masa akan datang hanya akan tercapai atas dasar yang disetujui oleh Inggeris atau (inspire by British Colonial Policy) walaupun akan bertentangan dengan cita-cita nasional (nasional inspiration) rakyat Kalimantan Utara pada umumnya. Tetapi jangan lupa, sudahlah bukan pada masanya lagi bagi kuasa Kolonialisma membodoh-bodohkan rakyat Brunei khususnya rakyat Kalimantan Utara seluruhnya dalam soal-soal politik, ekonomi, sosial dan kebudayaan kerana hubungan sejarah tidak dapat dipisah-pisahkan. Dan lebih-lebih lagi oleh kerana policy Kolonialisma sudah lapuk dan hampir mati.

Untuk menjaga kepentingan dan kebaikan Brunei dan Kerajaan Inggeris, Partai Rakyat menuntut adalah bijak bagi Kerajaan Inggeris dan Paduka Seri Baginda Sultan bertindak secara jujur dan selekas-lekasnya mengadakan perubahan-perubahan terhadap beberapa perkara dalam Perlembagaan yang hanya diantaranya tidak sesuai dengan keadaan politik international yang sedang menuju untuk mengujudkan demokrasi. Hanya dengan dasar pemerintahan demokrasi sahaja akan tercipta keamanan dan kesihatan politik dalam pemerintahan dan kemajuan, baik dalam lapangan perekonomian maupun dalam lapangan lainnya. Partai Rakyat berasa kuatir oleh sebab dalam Perlembagaan itu sendiri mengandungi tanda-tanda hitam yang boleh membahayakan Kerajaan Diraja sebagai pihak yang memegang kuasa-kuasa yang terbatas.

Adalah sangat dikhuatirkan, jika kuasa-kuasa yang tidak terbatas itu diberikan oleh Perlembagaan kepada Paduka Seri Baginda Maulana Al Sultan, akan dipergunakan sebagai satu kesempatan oleh pihak-pihak lain, yang ingin melihat D.Y.M.M. jatuh dari tahta

Kerajaannya. Adalah tidak mustahil bahawa satu pihak lain dengan segala kebijaksanaannya mempengaruhi Paduka Seri Baginda supaya mempergunakan kuasa-kuasa yang tidak terbatas itu untuk menekan resolusi-resolusi yang dibuat oleh sidang Majlis Mesyuarat Negeri atau Majlis Mesyuarat Kerajaan yang dianggap oleh pihak-pihak yang berkenaan merugikan kepentingan-kepentingan mereka.

Dengan memberikan Perlembagaan yang demikian rupa kepada Negeri Brunei, dengan sendirinya Inggeris menghinakan Sultan dan Rakyatnya sekali. Hal itu juga akan digunakan Inggeris bagi menunjukkan kepada dunia bahawa Seri Baginda Sultan dan rakyat Baginda sama sekali tidak mempunyai pendidikan baik dalam menganalisa proses demokrasi apatah lagi dalam proses scientific. Inggeris mempergunakan dasar demikian untuk memudahkan mereka berkata: Bangsa ini belum dapat merdeka kerana mereka primitive dan tidak mempunyai pelajaran dan lain-lain. Memang demikian sikap Inggeris yang di dalam hatinya sering berkata 'lihatlah kebodohan manusia di Brunei yang berbangga dengan Perlembagaan yang kami hanya cubakan. Adakah rakyat Brunei mengerti apakah Perlembagaan itu sebenar-benarnya?'. Itulah sebabnya Inggeris menghalang Parti Rakyat ikut serta dalam perundingan-perundingan Perlembagaan itu. Kerana Inggeris tahu pemimpin-pemimpin Partai Rakyat tidak akan begitu mudah untuk dipancing dan diperbodohkan dalam soal-soal politik dan Perlembagaan negara.

Inggeris tahu jika Partai Rakyat turut serta dalam perundingan perlembagaan itu sudah tentu Perlembagaan tidak dapat dicipta semudahnya.

Bab 29 cerian (2) dari Perlembagaan itu, menyebutkan bahawa dikatakan "ANAK BRUNEI" bermaksud seorang yang biasanya diterima sebagai ahli kaum jati dari puak-puak Belait, Bisayah, Tutong, Dusun, Kedayan, Melayu dan Murut. Jika ditinjau dari sudut sejarah, bahawa orang Dayak (Iban) juga dapat diakui sebagai salah satu puak jati. Tambahan pula orang Dayak yang sudah bermastautin didalam Negeri Brunei ini mengakui taat setia kepada Sultan dan Kerajaan Brunei. Dari itu haruslah puak Dayak yang sudah bermastautin itu diakui sebagai puak jati. Hal ini tidak akan merugikan Brunei, malah akan menguntungkan Brunei pada masa-masa akan datang.

**PARTAI RAKYAT BRUNEI  
KALIMANTAN UTARA  
STATEMENT  
TENTANG  
PERLEMBAGAAN BARU TERTULIS NEGERI BRUNEI**

Sesudah memikirkan, menimbang dan menyesuaikan perjuangan Partai Rakyat menurut anggaran dasar Partai Rakyat dalam fasal 4 (c) yang berbunyi “Partai Rakyat mempertahankan kedudukan Duli Yang Maha Mulia Maulana Sultan Brunei dengan segala keturunan2nya menduduki Tahkta Kerajaan Brunei dengan dasar Constitution”. Maka dengan ini Partai Rakyat mendukung dan berdiri dibelakang Seri Paduka Maulana Al-Sultan sebagai kepala Negara dan menjunjung tinggi segala chita2 Seri Baginda yang sesuai dasarnya dan berasas atas chita2 Partai Rakyat dan rakyat dinegeri ini pada umumnya.

Pada umumnya Partai Rakyat sesudah menyelidiki isi dasar2 perlembagaan tertulis yang dianugerahkan oleh Inggeris melalui Seri Baginda dan pegawai2 Baginda, adalah sebagai berikut:-

- a) Inggeris akan mempertahankan Semi-Absolute Monarch dan Colonial Administration melalui saluran kuasa yang dipusatkan (Concentrated Power) yang sangat bertentangan dengan dasar2 demokrasi (isi Constitution)
- b) Inggeris dalam dasarnya bertujuan menghinakan langsung atau tidak langsung terhadap Seri Baginda Maulana Al-Sultan dan rakyat2 seluruhnya baik dimata dunia Barat ataupun dimata dunia Timor; dan
- c) Inggeris mengkehendaki timbulnya perpechaha yang meluas di antara Seri Baginda dan rakyatnya.

Apakah sebab2nya Partai Rakyat berpendapat dalam bab a, b, & c di atas:

a) Kerana Inggeris memandang dari sudut geo-political approach; bukan tersekat dinegeri Brunei tetapi seluruh Kalimantan Utara. Menurut pandangan Inggeris dalam masa yang sesingkatnya tidak ada kuasa yang dapat menahan perchantuman ketiga daerah

Kalimantan Utara ini menurut dasar sejarah, dan lebih2 lagi kalau dipandang dalam soal2 kepentingan ekonomi, social dan kebudayaan. Tetapi Inggeris mengetahui dasar perchantuman itu tidak lagi salah dan hilaf kalau akan dikatakan berdasar kepada bentuk (structure) negara yang bersifat Parliametary Constitutional Monarch, dan sistem perchantuman Kalimantan Utara ini adalah berasas atas chita2 nasionalisme (inspiration nasionalisme) yang dicetak oleh masyarakat Kalimantan Utara sendiri. Maka Inggeris berasa ragu bila mana hal demikian akan terjadi, mungkin akan timbul puak2 pelampau atau extreme nasionalis yang akan menentang kepentingan Inggeris baik dari sudut ekonomi dan pertahanan, bilamana nanti Kalimantan Utara sudah menjadi negara yang merdeka dan berdaulat. Dari itu Inggeris sangat cerdik memberikan satu constitution kepada negeri Brunei atas dasar yang sangat bertentangan dengan dasar2 demokrasi (Anti Democracy).

b) Kerana dengan itu akan jauhlah rakyat kedua2 daerah Kalimantan Utara ini iaitu Sarawak dan Sabah bersatu dengan Brunei, dan jauhlah pula rakyat kedua2 daerah Kalimantan Utara ini mahu mengakui Seri Baginda Maulana Al-Sultan sebagai Raja mereka, sebab banyak rakyat Kalimantan Utara ini yang masih ingat akan timbul bahaya2 kerana pemerintahan yang berchorak absolute monarch; atau Autocracy. Dalilnya bukan hanya dalam masa pemerintahan di Kalimantan Utara ini malah hampir seluruh negeri yang mengamalkan pemerintahan Autocratic power didunia santa mengalami kepahitannya, dari itu Inggeris berpendapat perchantuman Kalimantan Utara pada masa akan datang hanya akan terchapai atas dasar2 yang disetujui oleh Inggeris atau (inspired by British Colonial Policy) sungguhpun akan bertentangan dengan chita2 nasional (National inspiration) rakyat Kalimantan Utara pada umumnya. Tetapi jangan lupa sudahlah bukan masanya lagi bagi kuasa kolonialisma untuk membodohi2 pada rakyat Brunei pada khususnya dan rakyat Kalimantan Utara pada umumnya dalam soal2 politik, ekonomi, sosial dan kebudayaan kerana hubungan ikatan sejarah tidak dapat dipadam2kan. Dan lebih2 lagi sebab2nya policy kolonilisme sudah lapok dan hampir mati. Sebareknya untuk menjaga kepentingan Inggeris; Partai Rakyat berpendapat dengan kejujuran Inggeris menghadapi Seri Baginda Maulana Al-Sultan dan rakyat Baginda seluruh Kalimantan Utara ini, akan dengan sendirinya rakyat Baginda akan memberikan jaminan dan akan melindungi hak2 Inggeris tidak pula mengganggu segala kepentingan nasional rakyat Kalimantan Utara ini, maka dari itu bijaksana bagi

Inggeris dan Maulana Al-Sultan untuk selekas2nya bertingak secara jujur terhadap mengubah isi perlembaga'an Brunei yang banyak diantaranya yang tidak sesuai dengan keada'an politik international yang sedang maju untuk menciptakan hak2 demokrasi dan menjamin hak2 kemanusiaan. Sebabnya hanya dengan dasar pemerintahan demokrasi akan terciptalah keamanan dan kesehatan dalam pemerintahan dan kemajuan, baik dalam lapangan perekonomian mahupun dalam lapangan lainnya. Partai Rakyat berasa khuatir banyak isi2 perlembagaan Brunei itu sangat2 bercorak membahayakan Keraja'an diRaja sebagai pihak yang memegang kuasa2 yang tidak terbatas.

Maka dari itu sangat dikhuatirkan jika kuasa2 yang tidak terbatas yang dikuat kuasakan oleh Pelembaga'an kepada Seri Baginda Maulana Al-Sultan akan dipergunakan sebagai satu kesempatan oleh pihak2 lain yang ingin melihat Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Baginda jatuh dari perasa'an rakyat Seri Baginda, yang sama sekali tidak ingin menderhaka apa lagi untuk menjatuhkan Seri Baginda dari Takhta Keraja'an. Seri Baginda jangan hilaf pihak lain akan mengasut Seri Baginda dengan kuasa yang ada pada mereka untuk Seri Baginda mempergunakan kuasa yang tidak terbatas itu untuk menekan keputusan2 yang akan diambil oleh sidang Majlis Meshuarat Negeri atau Majlis Meshuarat Keraja'an dimana dipandang oleh pihak lain adalah sedikit sebanyak merugikan mereka baik dalam lapangan ekonomi mahupun dalam lapangan politik.

(c) Inggeris menghina Seri Baginda dan rakyat seluruhnya dengan memberikan perlembaga'an pada Negeri Brunei ini yang sangat2 jauh dari dasar civilisation apatah lagi dasar2 demokrasi, ini adalah maksud Inggeris untuk menunjukkan kepada dunia Bahwa Seri Baginda Al-Sultan dan hamba rakyat Baginda adalah sama sekali tidak mempunyai pendidikan baik dalam menganalisa process demokrasi jauh dalam process scientific. Inggeris mempergunakan dasar demikian adalah berdasar kepada tradition yang Inggeris selalu berkata "BANGSA INI BELUM DAPAT MERDEKA KERANA MEREKA PRIMITIVE DAN TIDAK MEMPUNYAI PELAJARAN DAN LAIN2 LAGI." Maka begitulah pula Inggeris berkata di dalam hati2 mereka lihatlah kebodohan manusia2 diBrunei berbangga dengan perlembaga'an yang adalah hanya kami cobakan, adakah mereka rakyat Brunei mengerti apakah perlembaga'an itu sebenarnya? Sebab itulah yang mendorong Inggeris untuk menghalangi2 janganlah ada wakil dari Partai Rakyat ikut serta didalam

merundingkan dan menerima perlembaga'an itu. Kerana Inggeris tahu pemimpin2 Partai Rakyat tidak akan begitu mudah untuk dipancing dan dikelabui dalam soal2 politik jauh dalam soal2 perlembaga'an. Inggeris tahu bilamana masa merundingkan perlemba'an terhadap diantaranya wakil2 Partai Rakyat sudah tentu perlembaga'an yang demikian tidak semudah itu dapat tercipta.

Maka dari itu Partai Rakyat menjujong kepada Sri Baginda Maulana Al-Sultan apalah salahnya jika sekiranya Baginda berunding dengan Partai Rakyat kerana Partai Rakyat adalah terdiri dari hamba rakyat Baginda yang tetap menjunjung Seri Baginda tetapi tidak rela jika pihak2 lain menghinakan Seri Baginda kepada dunia dalam soal2 politik. Partai Rakyat tegas berpendirian bahawa Inggeris adalah langsung atau tidak langsung secara diplomacy yang kotor dan jijik sudah menghinakan Seri Baginda dan rakyatnya dimata dunia kerana menerima perlembaga'an yang jauh dari unsur2 demokrasi. Dan banyak lagi yang dapat dianalisa oleh Partai Rakyat, apakah sebab2nya Inggeris tidak jujur dalam menghadapi Seri Baginda dan Rakyatnya, tetapi Partai Rakyat masih merahsiakan perkara2 itu kerana beberapa sebab.

d) Inggeris mengetahui, bahawanya Partai Rakyat adalah Partai tunggal diBrunei ini Partai yang ta'at setia atas kedaulatan Seri Baginda Al-Sultan. Maka dari itu Inggeris merasa khuatir jikalau Seri Baginda dapat bersatu dengan Partai Rakyat atau dengan rakyat Baginda seluruhnya, sudah tentu perjuangan kemerdekaan yang menjadi chita2 rakyat di Brunei pada khususnya dan rakyat Kalimantan Utara pada umumnya akan lekas tercapai, dan Inggeris curiga kalau programe ekonomi yang merupakan sebahagian dari perjuangan Partai Rakyat untuk mencipta kemakmuran malah bukan hanya diBrunei ini tetapi diKalimantan Utara seluruhnya dapat tercapai, disana Inggeris secara tidak jujur menyangkakan bahawa bahaya akan menimpa kepentingan mereka, dari itu Inggeris mencari jalan bagaimana memisahkan sejauh2nya diantara Seri Baginda dengan rakyat supaya akan senang Inggeris menjalankan jarumnya yang merbahaya itu demi menjaga kepentingannya. Pada hal Inggeris harus insaf dari masa ini kita rakyat diKalimantan Utara seluruhnya sangat menaruh hormat kepada Inggeris dan menjaga kepentingan Inggeris baik dalam lapangan apa sekalipun yang tidak merugikan kepentingan nasional dan

e) Jika Inggeris jujur menghadapi rakyat diKalimantan Utara ini



**dan sebaliknya BUDI BAIK DIBALAS BAIK DAN BUDI JAHAT BURUK PADAHNYA.**

Disini Partai dalam menjaga kepentingan policy belum dapat mengambil sesuatu keputusan yang muktamad dalam soal menerima atau menolak perlembaga'an Brunei itu, tetapi bersedia untuk berunding jika dikehendaki oleh Seri Baginda Maulana Al-Sultan dalam pokok2 dasar bertentangan dengan chita2 rakyat dan dasar demokrasi.

Umpamanya salah satu isi perlembaga'an:-

### **Bab 12(1)**

1. Tiap2 ahli, selain daripada Pemengku Raja atau Ahli Kerana Jawatan (Ex officio) hendaklah menduduki kerusinya dalam Majlis Meshuarat Keraja'an chuma selama disukai oleh Sultan.

2) Berkenaan dengan dasar pengertian dalam bab; 29-Cheraian (2) dalam Undang2 Perlembaga'an yang berbunyi demikian;-

Bagi maksud bab ini "Anak Brunei" bermakna seseorang yang biasanya diterima sebagai ahli kaum jati dari puak2 Belait, Tutong, Bisaya, Dusun, Kedayan, Melayu dan Murut. Jikalau ditinjau dari sudut sejarah, bahawa orang Dayak (Melayu Iban) adalah juga dapat diakui sebagai salah satu dari puak jati. Kerana banyak juga orang2 Dayak yang bermestautin didalam Negeri Brunei ini yang mengaku ta'at setia mereka kepada Seri Baginda Maulana Al-Sultan dan Keraja'an Brunei. Dari itu haruslah puak Dayak (Melayu Iban) yang sudah bermestautin dinegeri ini diakui sebagai puak jati, bukanlah hal demikian akan merugikan Brunei, malah akan menguntungkan pada masa akan datang.

**Dikeluarkan oleh:**

**Seksi Politik Partai Rakyat  
Pusat Brunei.**

**Disah oleh:**

**Sidang Lengkap Dewan Harian  
Partai Rakyat Brunei  
Kalimantan Utara.**

**Diumumkan Oleh:  
Department Penerangan  
Partai Rakyat Brunei,  
Kalimantan Utara.**

**Tanda tangan**

**Osman Latip.**  
.....  
**Ketua Dept. Penerangan**

**Tanggal 5hb December, 1959**

## **PARTAI RAKYAT BRUNEI**

Markas Besar Pantai,  
213, Jalan Chevalier,  
P.O.Box 118,  
Brunei.

Tanggal 4.8.1961

The Right Honourable,  
The Colonial Secretary of State for the Colonies,  
Colonial Office,  
London.  
United Kingdom  
Through:  
His Excellency,  
The British High Commissioner for Brunei,  
Brunei.

Your Excellency,

This Petition is presented to Your Excellency in the name of Partai Rakyat Brunei, Kalimantan Utara, the most prominent and influential political party in the Protectorate State of Brunei, which was founded since the year nineteen fifty six.

The Partai Rakyat Brunei is founded on the basis of Nationalism whose principles are in accordance with the spirit of the nationalist movement in South East Asia, India and others. Presently, the Partai Rakyat Brunei, Kalimantan Utara has some 20,000 registered members and more if its sympathiers are taken into account.

Ever since its foundation as the biggest political party fighting for national independence, the Partai Rakyat Brunei has successfully shown its moderation in its struggle for peace and prosperity. It would continue to base its struggle on the basis of constitutionalism.

In accordance with the latest population figure, which is about 83,877 people, the Partai Rakyat Brunei represents 25 of the total population consisting of the indigenous races domiciled in the Protectorate State of Brunei. The party opposes racialism and this has been widely accepted by the people.

## **Geography**

The total area of the Protectorate State of Brunei comprises of 2,226 square miles. Compared to other nations, Brunei is admittedly small. Historically, by virtue and Wisdom of Her Majesty's Government, Brunei remains a Protectorate with a Sultan. The Partai Rakyat Brunei, therefore, will continue to adhere to the present set up and hope Her Majesty's Government would grant a constitution that will eventually lead the country to full internal self-government and independence. Having a small population coupled with stable economy, the Protectorate State of Brunei will, no doubt, become a peaceful and prosperous nation. The presence of Her Majesty's ambassador extra-ordinary in Brunei — the British High Commissioner whose guidance is paramount and indispensable makes it more obvious that the Protectorate State of Brunei will become an independent state, both internally and externally.

Brunei's wealth, oil is the only exploitable source of income. There are many other sources of wealth still unexploited. The vast and fertile land available throughout the country will make the Protectorate of Brunei self-supporting in basic commodities and any surplus could be exported to other countries in need of them. The Protectorate of Brunei is also blessed with vast forest reserves which could meet her internal need, and the balances for export. As income from oil may not last long, all these wealth deserve proper management and attention of the government.

## **Economy**

It is quite normal for anyone at this juncture to ask the question that, being still a dependent of Great Britain, is the economy of the Protectorate stable? The answer: in accordance with the view of the Partai Rakyat Brunei, no colony of Her majesty's Government is really suffering economically. This is equally true of the Protectorate State of Brunei. It is so because of the income from oil — properly managed by the Brunei Shell Petroleum Company. With sufficient fund consolidated annually, the Protectorate State of Brunei has no external debts, and as matter of fact, she gives loans to other Commonwealth countries. This was made possible during the protection of Her Majesty's Government whose prime interest is to safeguard the economy of the country.

However, the present economic stability cannot be taken for granted to last long. The Government should diversify its economic activity to cover irrigation, agriculture, animal husbandry together with the promotion of light industry. All available raw materials, like the white sand (salica sand) must be properly exploited. If the Protectorate State of Brunei is to continue to depend on oil alone for its economic base, it is very likely that the future of Brunei is unstable and the people may live in misery. Unemployment will increase to be followed only by widespread discontentment. If this happened, only a democratic government with the backing of the people would be able to overcome the problem, thus avoiding any political crisis.

## **Social**

The present social condition in the Protectorate State of Brunei is relatively regrettable, especially the labour sector with an increasing number of unemployed. If the present trend is unchecked, unemployment is sure to present a social phenomena that may affect both the health and education of the people. Unhealthy body harbours negative mind which in turn affects productivity. So prevention, as the saying goes, is better than cure.

The standard of living of the rural people should also receive the attention of the government. Basic social amenities such as electricity and good water supplies must not be ignored, as by the present government.

Secondary roads, as means of communication to the rural areas equally important to the villages because they provide better means of bringing their products to the markets in the town area.

Civic activities also deserve due attention, unlike now which are totally ignored by the government. To put on their right footing, they should be given proper guidance and subsidies by the government so that a generation of good citizenary will result.

The Partai Rakyat of Brunei believes that it is the wish of Her Majesty's Government to see not only the existence of healthy and active citizens but productive as well. Once the Protectorate State of Brunei becomes a sovereign state, both internally and externally, Her Majesty's Government contribution to the well being of the people of Brunei will always be remembered and written into the history of the

nation.

It is the fact of history that most of the colonial territories, after having achieved their independence, show great gratitude to the good deeds done by Her Majesty's Government. Likewise, the Partai Rakyat Brunei has also full confidence in the sincerity of Her Majesty's Government in bring the state to political maturity in accordance with the normal practice carried out in the former colonies.

## **Education**

Education is of vital important to the Protectorate State of Brunei, either for the present or the future generation. It is therefore desirable to have a proper national education policy with syllabus tailored to the need of the indigenous people and the country.

In order to have dedicated and loyal citizens for the Protectorate State of Brunei, a proper and constructive educational policy should be immediately formulated. Such a policy, as anticipated may not be accepted in total by the people. If the problem arises, a Citizenship law could overcome the issue. A good National Educational System does not mean the neglect of other cultures, instead it will serve as a good foundation for a united society whose loyalty is only to His Highness the Sultan and the Head of the Commonwealth of Nations. It is logically believed that, once a person becomes the Citizen of the Protectorate of Brunei he would willingly sever relationship with his country of origin and to participate actively in the cultural activity of his adoption. Consequently, he would render his undivided loyalty to His Highness the Sultan and also the Head of the Commonwealth of Nations. For those would not be able to accept the new reality, he may still do his own business like any other foreigners.

A National Education Policy is equally vital for the development of the economy, politics and peace of the country. A National Educational Policy may not only able to evade racial strife, and hatred but would insulate the masses from foreign subversion. A National Education Policy will no doubt produce good and responsible citizens of His Highness the Sultan. As a proverb says: 'A nation is not big because of its dense population and large area, but by the degree of knowledge the citizens possess'. It is therefore clear the importance of education and the urgency of having a National Education Policy

for Brunei.

## **Administration**

Like the brain in a human being, the importance of the administration to the Government is beyond any doubt. So it is with the Brunei Government. Any weaknesses ought to be identified and corrected immediately. This does not really mean the Partai Rakyat sees any weaknesses in the present administration. It simply says the matter deserves equal attention and to find out whether there is any necessity for its reorganisation.

The Partai Rakyat, however, is somewhat confused over the failure of the present administration to legislate a Nationality Bill as required by the new constitution though many months have passed now. Could this be a deliberate attempt made by the present administration, or purposely done by the Honourable Members of the Executive Council?

If the present situation is allowed to continue not only the Partai Rakyat but the people may feel frustrated.

## **Politics**

To-day, the political situation in the Protectorate State of Brunei is fairly peaceful and calm. This is so because the Partai Rakyat is a moderate political party coupled with the absence of any racial polarisation. The people of Brunei, though less literate (a social factor not to be taken as a sign of being apolitical) are both politically and nationally conscious. This has been illustrated in the discipline of the members of the Partai Rakyat. In every mass rally, the orderly nature of those who attend such meeting is demonstrative of a well disciplined society. The reason was because the members always follow the instruction of the Party's leadership.

The people of Brunei have long desired for a democratic form of government. In 1957, the Partai Rakyat submitted a Memorandum to His Excellency, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies. It was followed by a three member delegation on the 26th of September, 1957. Two meetings were held between the Colonial Secretary and the party delegation. But due to the conservative attitude of the Colonial Secretary, the meetings ended without any positive result. Although the people were furious at that time, their angry mood was cooled down by the perseverance of the leaders of the Partai Rakyat thus

avoiding any civil disturbances. This shows that the people have reached political maturity. They fully understand that there are times when the national struggle has to face political set-back.

The Partai Rakyat Brunei believes that political stability is the key to economic progress and in the future it will continue to hold this belief. Unfortunately, the response it received from the British Government is fairly negative. On the contrary, it keeps on delaying to grant the political rights to the people of the Protectorate State of Brunei.

Although as the result of the constitutional conference between Her Majesty's Government and the Sultan of Brunei which took place on the 14 of March, 1959 in London, the people were given the first written constitution, the Constitution of Brunei 1959 — the nature and spirit of the said document remains much to be said. The Partai Rakyat of Brunei was clear on this issue — this was stated in its political statement of 5 December, 1959 in which it stated its stand as "neutral and active."

As agreed, the Sultan of Brunei promulgated the constitution on the 29 of September, 1959. It was further stipulated that under Section 27 (2) an election to the Legislative Assembly would be held two years after that date. Wishing to give the Constitution a chance, the Partai Rakyat assured the people about the sincerity of the steps taken to introduce democracy in the Protectorate State of Brunei. It even went to the extent of assuring the people that the Royal Command was genuine and the period of two years was not to be extended.

To the blinking eyes of the people, the Government extended it to another year. This caused much consternation. It never happened before that the Royal Command failed to materialise, said one opinion. While another thought it was a betrayal of the Royal Command concocted by top and key-position civil servants. There is even another opinion which said it was the British Government who was responsible for the delay. The Partai Rakyat Brunei faced great difficulty in explaining the reasons for the delay. Up to the present moment of presenting this Petition, the Partai Rakyat is still faced with the dilemma.

The fact now is that the party finds it difficult to face the rising



attitude of frustration among the people as the result of the delay. In order to calm down the feeling of frustration, the immediate establishment of a democratic government is the only alternative. As stated earlier, the Partai Rakyat Brunei has a membership of 20,000 only. It is not responsible for the feeling of frustration among those who are not its members. It may even be very difficult for the party to control their angry mood and extremism - which is greater than those of the party members. It is emphasised here that unhealthy political situation is not conducive to the economy of the country.

It is no longer a secret that the Brunei United Labour Front is the only influential labour organisation which controls about 90% of the labour force in the Protectorate State of Brunei. On the 25 of July, the Brunei United Labour Front passed a resolution supporting the struggle of the Partai Rakyat, especially when it urged the Sultan to announce the date of the election in accordance with the requirement stipulated in the Constitution of Brunei, 1959. To be specific this means that election must be held in the month of September.

The Partai Rakyat is a far sighted and broad-minded organisation. It does not want to see chaos as the rule of the day. It has asked the Brunei United Labour Front to postpone its proposed nation wide strike for the time being. This is because the Partai Rakyat believes that Her Majesty's Government does not equally want the principles of democracy to be destroyed. In this context, the Partai Rakyat Brunei begs Her Majesty's Government to invoke Section 4(1) of the Brunei Agreement of 1959 which reads:

“His Highness agrees to receive, and provide a suitable residence for a High Commissioner to advise on all matters connected with the Government of the State other than matters relating to the Muslim Religion and the Customs of the Malays as practised in the State, and agree to accept the advice of the High Commissioner.”

It is with the highest confidence in Her Majesty's Government that the Partai Rakyat Brunei presents this Petition. It is, in the opinion of the party, the only channel through which democratic principles would be carried out and guaranteed.

The Partai Rakyat Brunei also appeals to Her Majesty's Government to hold a conference between representatives of His Highness the Sultan of Brunei and representatives of Her Majesty's

Government with the view to receive at least four delegates from the party at the Colonial Office in order to answer questions pertaining to the memorandum. It would be a good gesture still if Her Majesty's Government could invite a delegation from the party so that a friendly and cordial atmosphere may affect such a conference.

To conclude this Petition, Partai Rakyat Brunei wishes to thank Your Excellency, as representative of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, and with respect await for Your' Excellency's reply.

Written in Brunei on the 4th of August, 1961 and was presented to His Excellency, the British High Commissioner in Brunei for onward transmission to the Right Honourable, the Colonial Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Your Respectfully,

signed A.M. Azahari ..... President	signed Hapidz Laxamana ..... Vice-President
signed Jasin Affandy ..... Secretary-General	signed H.B.Hidup ..... Assistant Secretary-General

## **A JOINT STATEMENT OF THE LEADERS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTIES ATTENDING THE INAUGURAL MEETING OF THE BARISAN SOSIALIS OF SINGAPORE**

The fraternal delegation from the Federation of Malaya and Brunei representatives of the Barisan Sosialis, Singapore, discussed the problems that faced the peoples of their respective territories, and agreed that it is of paramount importance that the Socialist forces in Malaya and the Borneo territories should take all steps necessary for closer co-operation. They reaffirmed their faith in the solidarity of the Socialist movement in these territories.

They welcome the convening of a meeting of all Socialist parties of Malaya and the Borneo territories by the Socialist Front of the Federation of Malaya and resolved to take all necessary steps to make it a complete success. It is hoped that as a result of this proposed meeting of all socialist parties, it will be possible to have greater cooperation and coordination of the Socialist movement of these territories.

They agreed that no stable political solution to the problems facing the people could be achieved without the acceptance and support of the people. For this acceptance and support it is vital that there should be complete self-determination in these territories where this fight is denied.

They believe that any constitutional association of Malaya with the Borneo territories must only be brought about after the right of self-determination has been vested with the people of Brunei, Sarawak and North Borneo. It is a matter of urgency that the Borneo territories should achieve self-determination before they decide on the nature of their association with Malaya and Singapore.

They feel that any proposal which does not advance the self-determination of the people must be firmly resisted. They urge that any move to unite the territories and peoples must be based on equality, democracy and justice and advance the interests of the people.

The meeting condemns in strongest terms the refusal of visit passes to fraternal delegates from the Sarawak United People's

Party to meet their socialist friends in Singapore. This is a suppression of the fundamental right of the people. The unity of socialism cannot be destroyed by such meaningless restrictive measures.

The delegation are convinced that despite all the obstacles that face the Socialist movements in these countries, ultimate victory shall be with the people.

Sd: Ishak bin Haji Mohammed  
Chairman, Socialist Front, Federation of Malaya  
Sd: Dr. Lee Siew Choh  
Chairman, Barisan Sosialis, Singapore  
Sd: A.M. Azahari  
Chairman, Party Rakyat, Brunei

**PENYATUAN DAN KEMERDEKAAN  
KALIMANTAN UTARA  
KERTAS KERJA**

**DARI**

**PARTAI RAKYAT BRUNEI**

**KA  
KONPERENSI SOSIALIS MALAYSIA**

**Dianjurkan**

**Oleh**

**FRONT SOSIALIS RAKYAT MALAYA  
26-27hb. JANUARI, 1962  
KUALA LUMPUR**

**KERTASKERJA DARI PARTAI RAKYAT BRUNEI,  
KALIMANTAN UTARA  
PENYATUAN DAN KEMERDEKAAN KALIMANTAN UTARA.**

Menurut sejarah Sabah dan Sarawak adalah termasuk di dalam pemerintahan Seri Paduka Baginda Duli2 Yang Maha Mulia Raja Kalimantan Utara dalam satu ratus tahun dahulu dan kerana membalas jasa baik C.V. Brooke, di angkat menjadi Raja Muda di-jajahan Sarawak oleh Seri Paduka Baginda Raja Kalimantan Utara pada abad ke-19.

Disebabkan kemiskinan pemerintahan Seri Paduka Baginda maka kedudukan administration pemerintahan Baginda dan juga di-sebabkan structure pemerintahan dewasa itu di-dasarkan kepada absolute power, maka berbeza dengan pemerintahan Raja Muda Sarawak C.V. Brooke yang bijak menjalankan pemerintahan dengan bekerja sama dengan penduduk asli di-jajahan Sarawak.

Kerana tiga sebab tersebut maka pengaruh Seri Paduka Maulana Sultan di-Sarawak dan di-jajahan2nya sudah merusut, sungguh pun semasa pengangkatan C.V. Brooke menjadi Raja Muda Sarawak mempunyai syarat yang berbunyi lebih kurang:-

“Apabila masa2nya akan datang darah keturunan C.V: Brooke sebelah lelaki tidak lagi ada untuk memerintah Sarawak maka dengan sendirinya Sarawak dan jajahan2nya akan kembali kepada Seri Paduka baginda Raja2 Kalimantan Utara yang berkedudukan diBrunei.”

Pengangkatan Raja Muda Sarawak ialah pada tahun 1841. Oleh kerana kedudukan pemerintahan Sarawak lebih kuat daripada kedudukan pemerintahan Seri Paduka Duli Yang Maha Mulia Raja Kalimantan Utara, dan atas kehendak Kerajaan Inggeris dengan diplomasi2 yang kotor maka terbentuklah satu perjanjian di-antara Kerajaan Raja Charles Brooke ia-itu anak Kepada C.V. Brooke appendix B di-dalam perjanjian 5hb. September, 1888 ia-itu berbunyi bab2 yang Kerajaan Inggeris,

- (a) Melindungi Sarawak
- (b) Inggeris tidak berhak mencampuri pemerintahan dalam negeri.
- (c) Mengawasi perhubungan luar.
- (d) Menetapkan siapa di-antara keturunan C.V. Brooke yang berhak menduduki tahta Kerajaan.

(2) Sarawak tidak boleh menghapuskan hak kenegaraannya dengan tidak keizinan Kerajaan Inggeris. Begitu juga perjanjian telah dibuat oleh Kerajaan Inggeris dengan Kerajaan Kalimantan Utara pada tahun 1888 yang kerajaan Seri Paduka Baginda Raja Kalimantan Utara dimasukkan di bawah protectorate kerajaan British.

Perjanjian ini membuktikan dan memutuskan hubungan Sarawak dan pemerintah pusat di-Brunei maka dengan sendirinya syarat untuk kembalinya Sarawak kepada Sri Paduka Baginda Sultan, Raja Kalimantan Utara sudah di-gantikan di-dalam political will 16hb. December, 1913 yang berbunyi diantara lain;

“Jikalau tidak ada lagi keturunan2 saya daripada lelaki untuk memerintahkan Sarawak maka Sarawak adalah menjadi hak Ratu Inggeris. Tetapi bagaimana pun kita mengakui bahawa Raja Brooke adalah di-angkat oleh Seri Paduka Baginda Raja Kalimantan Utara untuk memerintah Sarawak.”

Sabah di-dalam satu perjanjian adalah disewakan oleh Seri Paduka Baginda Raja Kalimantan Utara kepada The Chartered Company pada tahun 1881, tetapi sehabis perang secara tidak jujur Inggeris

menjadikan Sabah sebagai colony-nya. Maka disini kita dapat membayangkan dan wajib mengakui bahawa kedaulatan Seri Paduka Baginda Duli Yang Maha Mulia adalah di-seluruh kalimantan Utara.

Maka dengan itu kita menuntut kepada persidangan hari ini supaya memutuskan dan memperjuangkan Kalimantan Utara di-persatukan dan Seri Paduka Baginda Maulana Al-Sultan di-dodukkan di-atas tahta Kerajaan Kalimantan Utara dengan structure Raja ber-perlembagaan dan dengan gelaran Seri Paduka Yang Di-Pertuan Negara Kalimantan Utara.

(3) Sebagaimana Persekutuan Tanah Melayu telah mengalami masa keemasan, kemerdekaan dan kebesarannya demikian juga Negara Kalimantan Utara dan Rakyatnya pernah mengalami alam ke-emasan, kemerdekaan dan kebesaran-nya. Maka dari itu, soal kemerdekaan bagi Kalimantan Utara dan Rakyat-nya bukanlah lagi soal baru, tetapi kemerdekaan adalah hak yang mutlak negara dan rakyat Kalimantan Utara dari kemerdekaannya yang selama ini di-tekan oleh penjajah.

Dan dapat dibuktikan gerakan politik dibawah pimpinan partai2 politik yang hampir keseluruhannya mempunyai cita2 yang sama iaitu Kalimantan Utara harus merdeka bebas dari segala bentuk rupa penjajahan. Dan harus di-akui pula Partai Rakyat Brunei, Kalimantan Utara adalah merupakan Partai Politik yang mempelopori gerakan kemerdekaan Kalimantan Utara, dan harus pula diakui sungguh-pun Partai Rakyat hanya di-daftarkan di Negeri Brunei saja tetapi pengaruh-nya di-seluruh Kalimantan Utara.

Maka dengan itu kita menuntut kepada sidang hari ini supaya memutuskan dan menyokong kemerdekaan bagi Rakyat Kalimantan Utara adalah hak asasi rakyat Kalimantan Utara.

(4) Oleh kerana pergisiran politik international diperkuatkan dengan keputusan persidangan Persharikatan Bangsa2 dalam persidangan Dewan Keamanan-nya yang mana penjajahan harus lenyap dari muka bumi akhir tahun 1962.

Inggeris berpendapat sudah tidak tahan lagi untuk menentang pejuang2 kemerdekaan Kalimantan Utara, tetapi Inggeris juga berazam tidak mahu melepaskan hak kemerdekaan rakyat

Kalimantan Utara begitu saja, maka tidak ada jalan lain buat Inggeris ialah akan menyerahkan hak rakyat Kalimantan Utara melainkan kepada orang2 yang sanggup menurut telunjuk Inggeris.

- (a) Tengku seakan2 menuduh yang rakyat Kalimantan Utara dapat menerima faham Komunis, pada hal hingga hari ini dan kita yakin hingga masa2 akan datang faham komunis tidak akan dapat bertapak dan berpengaruh diseluruh Kalimantan Utara. Sebab luasnya daerah dan kekayaan alam Kalimantan Utara bila diberi kemerdekaan penuh kepada rakyat Kalimantan Utara kedudukan ekonominya akan lebih kuat daripada ekonomi Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, jumlah penduduk dan luas daerahnya adalah sesuai untuk menjamin kedudukan rakyat Kalimantan Utara, maka adalah sangat mustahil dalam suatu negara yang makmur penghidupan rakyat yang berbahagia faham Komunis akan dapat berpengaruh.
- (b) Soal kemerdekaan rakyat Kalimantan Utara disalurkan melalui Malaysia, ini juga merupakan penghinaan yang tidak dapat ditelan oleh tiap2 rakyat Kalimantan Utara yang tahu kepada kehormatan diri lebih2 lagi yang tahu kepada kehormatan bangsa dan tanah air. Kita yakin Perdana Persekutuan Tanah Melayu dan Perdana Menteri Inggeris tidaklah buta dan tuli dan mereka ini yakin mendengar dan mengetahui yang rakyat Kalimantan Utara sudah lama berjuang berkorban untuk mencapai kemerdekaan bangsa dan tanah airnya. Dan kita yakin rakyat Kalimantan Utara seluruhnya mahu mencapai taraf kemerdekaan negara ini dan bangsanya atas dasar melalui perjuangan rakyat Kalimantan Utara sendiri dan bukan melalui konsepsi Malaysia Tengku Abdul Rahman.
- (c) Jika sekiranya rakyat Kalimantan Utara dipaksakan untuk mendapatkan kemerdekaan-nya melalui konsepsi Malaysia Tengku Abdul Rahman ini, maka nyata rakyat Kalimantan Utara dianggap chaching dan kehormatan rakyat Kalimantan Utara tidak akan sama sekali diakui sebagai rakyat yang mahu hanya diri dan kehormatan bangsanya dan secara langsung juga Tengku Abdul Rahman dan Kerajaan Inggeris menghinakan tahta kerajaan Seri Paduka Baginda Maulana



Al-Sultan Brunei. Maka Partai Rakyat Brunei, Kalimantan Utara menuntut kepada sidang hari ini supaya memutuskan dan mendesak kepada Perdana Menteri Inggeris dan Malaya untuk menanggukkan konsepsi Malaysia Raya dan mendesak kerajaan Inggeris memberikan kemudahan.

## USUL

- (1) Partai Rakyat Brunei Kalimantan Utara menuntut kepada persidangan hari ini supaya memutuskan dan mengutok serta memandang haram Consultative Melayu Raya yang tiga kali telah mengadakan persidangan-nya di Sabah, Sarawak dan Kuala Lumpur, kerana wakil2 ketiga2 daerah hanya mewakili diri2 mereka dan mewakili pemerintahan penjajahan Inggeris.
- (2) Partai Rakyat Brunei Kalimantan Utara menuntut kepada persidangan hari ini supaya mendesak kepada Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, Singapore dan Kerajaan Inggeris supaya memberhentikan dengan serta merta persidangan consultative Melayu Raya.
- (3) Partai Rakyat Brunei Kalimantan Utara menuntut kepada persidangan hari ini supaya mengakui Kalimantan Utara adalah satu dan mendesak kepada Kerajaan Inggeris supaya dengan segera mempersatukan Kalimantan Utara dan mengadakan pilihan raya umum yang demokratis.
- (4) Partai Rakyat Brunei, Kalimantan Utara menuntut kepada persidangan hari ini supaya mendukung sepenuhnya perjuangan rakyat Kalimantan Utara **Untuk mencapai Kemerdekaan Nasional** yang baik dari segala bentuk dan corak mahupun dari sudut moral dan meterial.
- (5) Partai Rakyat Brunei Kalimantan Utara menuntut kepada persidangan hari ini supaya membentuk satu committee anti-Malaysia dengan mengadakan penerangan2 yang luas dan perarakan2 sebagai membuktikan konsepsi Malaysia Tengku Abdul Rahman Putra Al Haj adalah konsepsi yang tidak jujur dan sewajarnya.
- (6) Partai Rakyat Brunei Kalimantan Utara menuntut kepada persidangan hari ini supaya mengutok konsepsi Malaysia

Tengku Abdul Rahman Putra Al Haj kerana:-

1. Untuk kepentingan pertahanan Inggeris dan SEATO
  2. Untuk menghancurkan ekonomi nasional.
  3. Menyeret negara dan bangsa kedalam medan peperangan jikalau peperangan dunia ketiga terjadi.
  4. Mengancam dan membahaya kedudukan Indonesia sebagai sebuah negara tetangga yang menjalankan dasar politik luar negeri yang neutral dan aktif.
- (7) Partai Rakyat Brunei, Kalimantan Utara menuntut kepada persidangan hari ini supaya mendukung sepenuhnya tuntutan Republik Indonesia sebagai dasar menghapuskan penjajahan dan mengutuk kedegilan Belanda.

# **PARTAI RAKYAT BRUNEI, KALIMANTAN UTARA**

## **POLITICAL MANIFESTO**

**August, 1962**

### **No. 1. POLITICS**

#### **Independence:**

1963 has been set as target date for national Independence: Unitary States of Kalimantan Utara:

To fight for the establishment of Unitary States of Kalimantan Utara (British North Borneo), independent both internally and externally, and to recognise the Sultan of Brunei as a Constitutional Head of State.

#### **Malaysia:**

With regard to Malaysia, the Peoples Party of Brunei, Kalimantan Utara will stick to its previous policy that is against the present concept of Malaysia as proposed by Tengku Abdul Rahman. Our opposition is based on the following.

- a. National entity
- d. Defence
- c. Economic

#### **Foreign Policy:**

1. Neutral and active in the present world politics, that is neither siding the West nor the East, but we shall have diplomatic relations with those who wish to be friendly with us.
2. Independent Brunei will remain as a member of the Commonwealth of Nations.
3. Brunei will apply for membership of the United Nations as soon as national independence is proclaimed.

### **No. 2. ECONOMY**

#### **Sources of National Economy:**

1. According to the present available statistics, production in the oil

industry is declining. Therefore, attention should be focused to other sources of economy:

- a. Agriculture
- b. Forestry
- c. Fishery
- d. Other minerals

### **Small Industries:**

The Peoples Party of Brunei, Kalimantan Utara will find ways and means for the setting up of an Independent Economic Commission to investigate the possibility of starting small industries which are related to Agriculture, Forestry, Fishery and other minerals.

### **Standard of Living:**

In the light of present acute standards of living of the people consisting of the labouring classes, the farmers and the fishermen in this country, the Peoples Party of Brunei, Kalimantan Utara will find ways and means of setting up an Independent Investigating Bureau to investigate reasons for the said difficulty and to find a way out.

### **Cooperative Societies:**

As a progressive political party, the Peoples Party of Brunei, Kalimantan Utara realizes the existing economic imbalances between local and the foreign capital. Therefore, Partai Rakyat Brunei Kalimantan Utara will encourage the growth of cooperative societies in Brunei.

### **Capital:**

With regard to Brunei's policy in foreign investment abroad, the Peoples Party of Brunei, Kalimantan Utara is of the opinion that a deep reconsideration will have to be made in the interest of future economic development of this country.

### **Rural Development:**

It is the prime intention and object of the People's Party of Brunei, Kalimantan Utara to bring the peoples in the rural area of Brunei to

enjoy the pleasures of the national wealth by introducing the following facilities:

- a. Cheap Housing
- b. Good roads and other mass communication system.
- c. Sufficient Water Supply.
- d. Sufficient Electricity Supply.
- e. Health Clinics.
- f. Small shop Houses and markets.

All those projects will be carried out on collective basis, controlled by Central Government and carried out by District Authorities.

### **Education:**

In the light of weakness in the present education of the local children the Peoples Party of Brunei, Kalimantan Utara feels if necessary the introduction of changes in the present education policy so that a new policy based on national interest be instituted in accordance with the trends of time.

- d. In order to fill the gap of human resources in this country, and realizing the necessity of giving every body a chance to take part in the development of this country, the Peoples Party of Brunei, Kalimantan Utara will endeavour to establish the following vocational secondary schools:
  1. Agriculture Training School.
  2. Fishery College
  3. Technical School
  4. Arts and Crafts College.

### **Scholarship:**

In the light of the small number of students receiving secondary education in this country, the Peoples Party of Brunei, Kalimantan Utara will seek ways and means of granting more scholarship to them for further studies abroad without any descrimintion.

### **Teachers:**

The shortage of trained teachers will be overcome by introducing more facilities for their further training. An endeavour also will be made to recruit more trained teachers.

### **Adult Education:**

A mass adult education drive will be undertaken in order to eradicate illiteracy; so that every member of the society will be useful to the country and nation.

### **Labour:**

#### **Wages:**

As the gap between wages and cost of living is extremely wide, the Peoples Party of Brunei, Kalimantan Utara will seek to narrow the difference by introducing new wages in accordance with individual cases, industry to industry basis.

### **Housing For The Labourers:**

The Peoples Party of Brunei, Kalimantan Utara is of the opinion that it is the social responsibility of all employers to house their workers in reasonably good accommodation.

### **Welfare and Pensions:**

The Peoples Party of Brunei, Kalimantan Utara is of the opinion that labour is the prime factor in any production and development. Therefore, the party feels it necessary to introduce the following welfare projects:

1. Reasonable pension to every worker
2. Proper medical attention including his family
3. Proper education for their children

4. Facilities to improve their education
5. Sufficient compensation for industrial accidents
6. Sufficient facilities for sports and entertainment
7. Promotions must be made on ability, talents and long services.
8. Pension scheme contributed both by the employer and employees.

### **Labour Legislation:**

1. The Peoples Party of Brunei, Kalimantan Utara after considering the Trade Union Enactment and the Trade Disputes 1961 found them most unsuitable with the present labour trend. Therefore, the Peoples Party of Brunei, Kalimantan Utara is of opinion that necessary amendments will have to be made in order to justify the changes.
2. The Peoples Party of Brunei, Kalimantan Utara shall ask the Brunei Government to adopt and modify I.L.O. Conventions No: 84 and 95.

### **Social:**

#### **The People's Welfare:**

As it is the responsibility of government to look after the welfare of its citizens, the Peoples Party of Brunei is anxious to promote and protect the well being of the people of Brunei from the following angles:

1. Health and Medicinal provisions.
2. The establishment of Welfare Boards for the under-privileged children, pauper etc.
3. Will seek ways and means of building Civic Centres in all the districts as to encourage youth taking active part in welfare work.
4. The Peoples Party of Brunei, Kalimantan Utara and the general public will protect the unmolested society against any prostitution

brought about by yellow culture.

### **Culture and Religion:**

It is the expressed desire of the Peoples Party of Brunei, Kalimantan Utara to protect the Malay Culture as National Culture in this country and that Islam as official religion. In this respect, the party will endeavour to provide the following:

1. The setting up of Pilgrimage Board whose main functions will be to ensure the well being of pilgrims in their journey to and from Mecca.
2. To increase the number of Religious teachers together with an endeavour to improve their knowledge and also to promote their standard of living.
3. To propagate the teaching of Islam in this country without touching any other religion.
4. The Board of Film Censorship in this country should be constituted by representatives of the various social organisations, officials from the Religious Department, and Government Officials. And there shall be only one Film Censor Board.

### **Administration:**

Administration is the life of any Government and because of that the Peoples Party of Brunei, Kalimantan Utara is of the opinion that it should be free from any political controversy, family system and favouritism.

The recruitment of officers into the Civil Service should be through free competition and based on experience and qualifications.

Being a progressive political party, the Peoples Party of Brunei, Kalimantan Utara is anti-beaucracy. In that respect, it feels it necessary to decentralise the administration into the various district controls.



As a party fully supported by the people and the voice of the people, the Peoples Party of Brunei is of the opinion that there should be an Anti-Corruption Bureau to combat corruption in all aspects.

The Peoples Party of Brunei, Kalimantan Utara is of the opinion that it should, and will endeavour to pave the way for mutual understanding and cooperation between the civil servants and the general public in the interest of national development.

In order to fill the administration with local officers, the Peoples Party of Brunei, Kalimantan Utara will seek ways and means of training the locals in accordance with his individual talents, so that they will be able to become good administrators.

### **Freedom:**

The Peoples Party of Brunei, Kalimantan Utara feels that the introduction of the Public Order Enactment 1962 by the Brunei Government was contrary to the following fundamentals of democracy:

1. Freedom of speech
2. Freedom to organization
3. Free to sound public opinion
4. Free to adhere to any political conviction
5. Free from fear.

And, in the light of the present harmony, peace and prosperity in this country and the absence of any public disorder, the introduction of the Public Order Enactment has the sole purpose of suppressing the national movement in this country which is now fighting for national independence by constitutional means.

### **Conclusion:**

To the people as a whole, we from the Central Executive Committee of the Peoples Party of Brunei, Kalimantan Utara appeal to all to be in state of peace, adhering to the principles of the party (and) to support the contents of this manifesto.

**JOINT MEMORANDUM OF  
SUPP, PASOK, PRB.**

*Registered*

Date 9th September, 1962.

The Secretary-General.  
United Nations Organization,  
New York.  
Sir,

We the undersigned representing our respective parties in the territories of Sarawak, British North Borneo dan Brunei have the honour to submit herewith a joint memorandum with a view to having it placed before the Committee on Colonies of the United Nations Organization or any other competent body for consideration and with a view to seeking the intervention of the United Nations in the proposed transfer of Sovereignty in British North Borneo (Sabah) and Sarawak by the United Kingdom Government to the proposed Federation of Malaysia without the exercise of the right of self determination by the peoples in these territories, in contravention to the spirit and letter of the Declaration of the United Nations and the Resolution 1514 (XV) of the United Nations General Assembly of the 14th of December, 1960.

We further request that in view of the urgency of the matter, earliest opportunity be given to us for making oral representations before the Committee.

Yours faithfully,

The United National  
Pasok Momogun Party  
of Sabah

Signed  
(G.S.Sundang)  
Chairman

The Secretary-General  
Sarawak United People's Party  
P.O. Box 454  
Kuching Sarawak.

The Party Rakyat  
Brunei  
(Peoples Party)

Signed  
(A.M. Azahari Mahmud)  
Chairman

The Sarawak United  
People's Party

Signed  
(Ong Kee Hui)  
Chairman

## MEMORANDUM

1. The Memorandum is submitted by the following political organizations in the British Borneo territories of British North Borneo, Brunei, and Sarawak viz:
  - (1) The United National Pasok Momogun Party of British North Borneo -a political party with a membership to date of over 30,000 comprising largely of the native inhabitants of North Borneo together with few hundred Chinese who are either born in North Borneo or have made North Borneo their home and the object of their loyalty.
  - (2) The Party Rakyat of Brunei a party established in Brunei since 1956 with a membership of 26,000 comprising all races in Brunei and receiving the overwhelming support of Brunei's population of 84,000.
  - (3) The Sarawak United People's Party the first political party to be formed and is the largest party in Sarawak with a membership to date of 47,000 people, comprising of all races who live in Sarawak and is therefore a most representative party. Every one in eight of the adult population in Sarawak is a member of the party.
2. These three political parties representing the nationalist movement in the territories, started independently of each other, are striving for the natural aspiration of the people in the British Borneo territories to achieving self government and independence.
3. Sarawak and British North Borneo (also known as Sabah) are British Colonies without any representative Government. The Government of United Kingdom has however repeatedly given the pledge that the people in those territories shall be granted self government and independence.
4. Until the middle of the 19th century the Sultan of Brunei had exercised sovereignty over Sarawak and over large parts of Sabah. The State of Brunei is a protectorate of the United Kingdom and through her High Commissioner she can assert and has in fact exercised great influence in the conduct of political affairs in this State. It has no representative government.

5. In 1958 the Colonial Government of Sarawak and Sabah, in pursuance of the policy of the United Kingdom of Great Britain at that time, called for closer association of the territories of Sarawak, Sabah and Brunei with a view to forming a federation of these territories. The peoples in these territories were urged to accept the same as prerequisites to grant independence.
6. On 27th May, 1961 the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya Tengku Abdul Rahman, made a statement on the concept of Malaysia. At the prompting of the representatives of Government of Malaya and Singapore, the delegates from North Borneo (Sabah) and Sarawak attending the regional Commonwealth Parliamentary Association meeting, proposed the formation of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee (M.S.C.C.). The pace of and the line taken by this Committee was set or influenced by the representatives of the governments of Singapore and Malaya.
7. On 23rd November 1961 a joint statement was issued by the British and Malayan Government to the effect that formation of a "Federation of Malaysia" was a desirable aim and that a commission was to be set up to ascertain the views of the peoples of Sabah and Sarawak and to make recommendations.
8. The composition of the Commission was Lord Cobbold (Chairman), Sir Anthony Abell (a former Governor of Sarawak) Sir David Watherston, Dato Wong Pew Noe and Encik Mohammad Ghazali bin Shafie. The Chairman was a joint choice by the British and Malayan Government, and of the four members two were nominated by the British Government and two by the Malayan Government.
9. In view of the decision of the British Government, the colonial governments of Sarawak and Sabah were bound to support the formation of Malaysia and had utilised every propaganda machine at their disposal to put the proposal in the most favourable light. In Sarawak and elsewhere charges were indiscriminately made of the people who were against Malaysia as Communists, a description equivalent to bandits or foreign agents.
10. The Commission sat in 20 centres in Sarawak and 15 in Sabah

and saw over 4,000 people in 690 groups in both Sarawak and Sabah. No referendum was taken.

11. The Government of Brunei sat its own committee to ascertain the views of the people there and to forward the findings to His Highness the Sultan.
12. As no public demonstrations were allowed when the Commission was in the Colony of Sarawak, a national signature campaign was launched. Some over 112,000 signatures of adult persons opposing the Malaysia Plan were collected and forwarded to the Commission. These signatures were obtained in very short time and in face of adverse government propaganda. In term of the total population (750,000) 55% of whom are not adults, the persons against Malaysia are substantially large.
13. The assessment of the Commission was that about one third of the population strongly favoured realisation of Malaysia without condition, one third favoured it with condition and safeguards and the rest against. This assessment was totally wrong and could not be supported by facts and could not be accepted by independent impartial observers.
14. In August 1962 in a joint Communique, issued by the British and Malayan Governments, it was stated that the proposed Federation of Malaysia should be brought into being by 31st August and within 6 months a formal agreement would be concluded to provide for the transfer of sovereignty in Sabah and Sarawak by that state.
15. This decision was against the letter and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations and particularly its Resolution 1514 (XV) of 14th December and of the Nine Cardinal Principles of the present Constitution for Sarawak. The said principles are annexed here to and marked "A".
16. The findings of the Committee set up by H.H. the Sultan of Brunei was that the overwhelming majority of the people in the State is against the Federation of Malaysia.
17. At the general election, candidates of Partai Rakyat of Brunei, the only party in Brunei against the federation of Malaysia and

fighting the election on that platform were returned, by winning all the 55 seats.

18. The signatories to this memorandum appeal to the United Nations and urge that:

(1) The United Nations Organization should, in pursuance to its declaration and resolution, intervene in the proposed transfer of sovereignty in Sarawak and Sabah on the ground that such a transfer is a denial to the peoples in these territories of their right to complete independence.

(2) Alternatively that a plebiscite organised and conducted by the United Nations Organization be held before such transfer of sovereignty.

(3) In accordance with the peoples freely expressed will and desire and our belief, a federation or Union of the three Borneo territories viz Sarawak, Sabah and Brunei be brought about with His Highness the Sultan of Brunei as the Constitutional Head of such Federation or Union.

Date this 9th September, 1962.

The United National  
Pasok Momoggon party

(G.S. Sundang)

Signed

The Partai Rakyat of Brunei

(A.M. Azahari Mahmud)

Signed

The Sarawak United  
Peoples Party

(Ong Kee Hui)

Signed

8 October 1962

Sir,

On behalf of the Secretary-General, I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your cable of 17 September 1962 stating that you would be unable to arrive in New York before 19 September and requesting to be informed of the date of the next session of Special Committee.

The Special Committee adjourned *sine die* on 19 September without fixing a date for its next meeting. Since the Special Committee is not expected to meet while the General Assembly is in session, it is unlikely that it will meet again until after the conclusion of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly at **the end of December 1962**. You may rest assured, however, that as soon as a date is fixed you will be informed.

I am enclosing for your information a copy of the provisional summary record of the **111th meeting of the Special Committee** at which your request for hearing was discussed.

Yours truly.

D. Protitch  
Under-Secretary  
for Trusteeship and Information from  
Non-Self-Governing Territories

The Secretary-General  
Sarawak United Peoples' Party  
P.O. Box 454  
Kuching, Sarawak.

# UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

A/AC. 109/L. 36

14 September 1962

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

## SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

### TWENTY-THIRD REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON PETITIONS

Chairman: Mr. Kifle Wodajo (Ethiopia)

1. The Sub-Committee at its 25th meeting held on 14 September 1962 considered four communications.

#### **Aden**

2. The Sub-Committee considered a cable dated 12 September 1962 from the Secretary of the Peoples Political Party. The Sub-Committee decided that this communication should be circulated as a petition (A/AC. 109/PET. 45).

3. The Sub-Committee further decided to recommend to the Special Committee that the request for a hearing contained in this communication be granted. It also decided to recommend that, should the Special Committee approve the request, the petitioner should also be informed of the Special Committee's schedule of work.

4. The representative of Australia reserved the position of his delegation on the decision to recommend the request and pointed out that it would be impracticable to hear additional petitioners during the few days left for the Special Committee to conclude its work.

5. The Representative of India stated that, while he had no objection in principle to the granting of the request for hearing, he did not think that it would be practicable to hear any more petitioners during the few days that are left before the close of the current series of meetings, considering the heavy work load of the Committee.



## **Zanzibar**

6. The Sub-Committee considered the following two communications from Mr. Othman Shariff, Vice President and Deputy Leader of the Afro-Shirazi Party:

(a) cable dated 11 September 1962 requesting a hearing;

(b) Letter dated 13 September 1962 enclosing a memorandum on the present situation in Zanzibar.

7. The Chairman informed the Sub-Committee that Mr. Shariff was now in New York and that he had informed the Chairman of the Special Committee that he did not wish to be heard at present provided that his communication of 13 September be circulated to members of the Committee.

8. The Sub-Committee decided that the communication of 13 September 1962 be circulated as a document (A/Ac. 109/29).

## **Sarawak, British North Borneo and Brunei.**

9. The Sub-Committee considered a letter dated 5 September 1962 from the Chairman of the United Momogum Party, the Party Rakyat (Peoples' Party) and the Sarawak United Peoples' Party. The Sub-Committee decided to circulate this communication as a document (A/AC. 109/PET. 46).

10. The Sub-Committee decided to recommend to the Special Committee that the request for hearing contained in this communication be granted.

11. In this connexion the Sub-Committee decided to draw the attention of the Special Committee that in recommending this request for hearing it had taken into account the work programme of the Committee but had felt that, should the Special Committee decide to approve the Sub-Committee's recommendations, it was for the Special Committee itself to decide the appropriate date and time of the hearing.

12. The representative of India considered that it would not be possible for the Special Committee to hear any additional petitioners during the time available to it at the present.

13. The representative of Australia, while reserving his delegation's position on the decision of the Sub-Committee, also pointed out the practical difficulties of hearing additional petitioners.

**The Chairman** drew attention to the recommendations in paragraph 10 of the Sub-Committee's report (A/AC. 109/L. 36).

**Mr. SANEY** (United Kingdom) said that he wished to record a reservation regarding that recommendation; it was pointless for the Committee to grant a hearing when it could not make up the substance of the questions involved.

**The recommendation in paragraph 10 was approved**

**The Chairman** pointed out that, if the petitioner was not already in New York, there was little chance of his being able to arrive in time to be given a hearing at the current series of meetings. The petitioners should be informed by cable that his hearing had been granted and that, if he could arrive before the end of the Committee's session, he would be heard immediately and that otherwise he would be heard at the next session.

**Mr. OBEREMKO** (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that if the Committee's session did not end until 22 September, there would be ample time for the petitioner to arrive.

**Mr. SANKEY** (United Kingdom) pointed out that the Committee would have on time to discuss the territory from which the petitioner came at the current series of meetings in any event. The petitioner should be informed of that fact and told that, if he could not be heard immediately, he would be given an opportunity of making his statement later. He would then be able to decide on his course of action

**Mr. NATWAR SINGH** (India) felt that the Committee should not encourage the petitioner to undertake a long journey in order to be given only a very short hearing.

**Mr. CURTIS** (Australia) agreed. The Committee should not encourage the petitioner to come immediately, for it had very little time to complete the work already on its agenda. It should not run the risk of giving the petitioner only a very short hearing or of having to hear other petitioners, as it would be morally obliged to do if it made a point of hearing the present petitioner. He should be informed by cable that his request had been granted but that it was not possible to schedule a hearing for the current series of meetings and that he would be informed of the date of the next series.

**Mr. OBEREMKO** (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the petitioner's travel arrangements were of no concern to the Committee. It should telegraph the petitioner, telling him, firstly that he could be heard at the current series of meetings if he arrived before a certain date; secondly, that he could be heard at the next series of meeting and thirdly, that he might obtain a hearing from the Fourth Committee.

**Mr. SMIGANOWSKI** (Poland) endorsed the view expressed by the previous speaker.

**Mr. AYARI** (Tunisia) felt that it would be premature to inform the petitioner that he might be heard by the Fourth Committee; that was for the Fourth Committee to decide.

**The CHAIRMAN** said that it would be wrong for the Committee to prolong its meetings merely to hear petitioners, or for it to encourage petitioners to make extraordinary efforts to arrive in time to be heard at the current series of meeting.

**Mr. OBEREMKO** (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that he did not agree; the Committee's main business was to hear petitioners. As hearings had now been granted to two more petitioners, the Committee must make every effort to give effect to that decision.

He agreed with the Tunisian representative that it was for the Fourth Committee to decide whether it wished to hear a petitioner; but the petitioner should be informed of that possibility in case he was unaware of it. However, that need not prevent the Committee from informing him also that he could be heard at the Committee's next series of meetings if he so wished.

**Mr. ABEBE** (Ethiopia) thought that it was unnecessary to mention the possibility of a hearing by the Fourth Committee, of which the petitioners were certainly well aware. The cable should merely give the date at which the present series of meetings was to end; the decision would then be up to the petitioner.

**Mr. NATWAR SINGH** (India) pointed out that if the Committee encouraged the petitioner to come to New York, it was morally bound to hear him, even if that involved prolonging its meetings. But if it did so, small delegations like his own would find themselves in a very difficult position, for the Committee's meetings would then overlap with the seventeenth session of the General Assembly. He could not see why that should be necessary.

**Mr. RIFAI** (Syria) supported the previous speaker's remarks about overlapping. In addition, he felt it would be unfair to the petitioner to encourage him to come to New York unless the Committee could give him all the time he needed to present his case. The petitioner should be informed of the position and left to take his own decision.

**Mr. MALECELA** (Tanganyika) pointed out that no definite decision could be taken regarding the contents of the cable until the Committee had decided on the date at which the current meetings would end.

**Mr. NATWAR SINGH** (India) strongly supported that view: he proposed that it should end on 19 September.

**Mr. ZITO** (Italy) and **Mr. MALECELA** (Tanganyika) supported the proposal.

**Mr. SMIGANOWSKI** (Poland) opposed the proposal. The Committee had already decided at its 99th meeting to conclude its

work on 22 September.

**Mr. OBEREMKO** (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) supported the previous speaker.

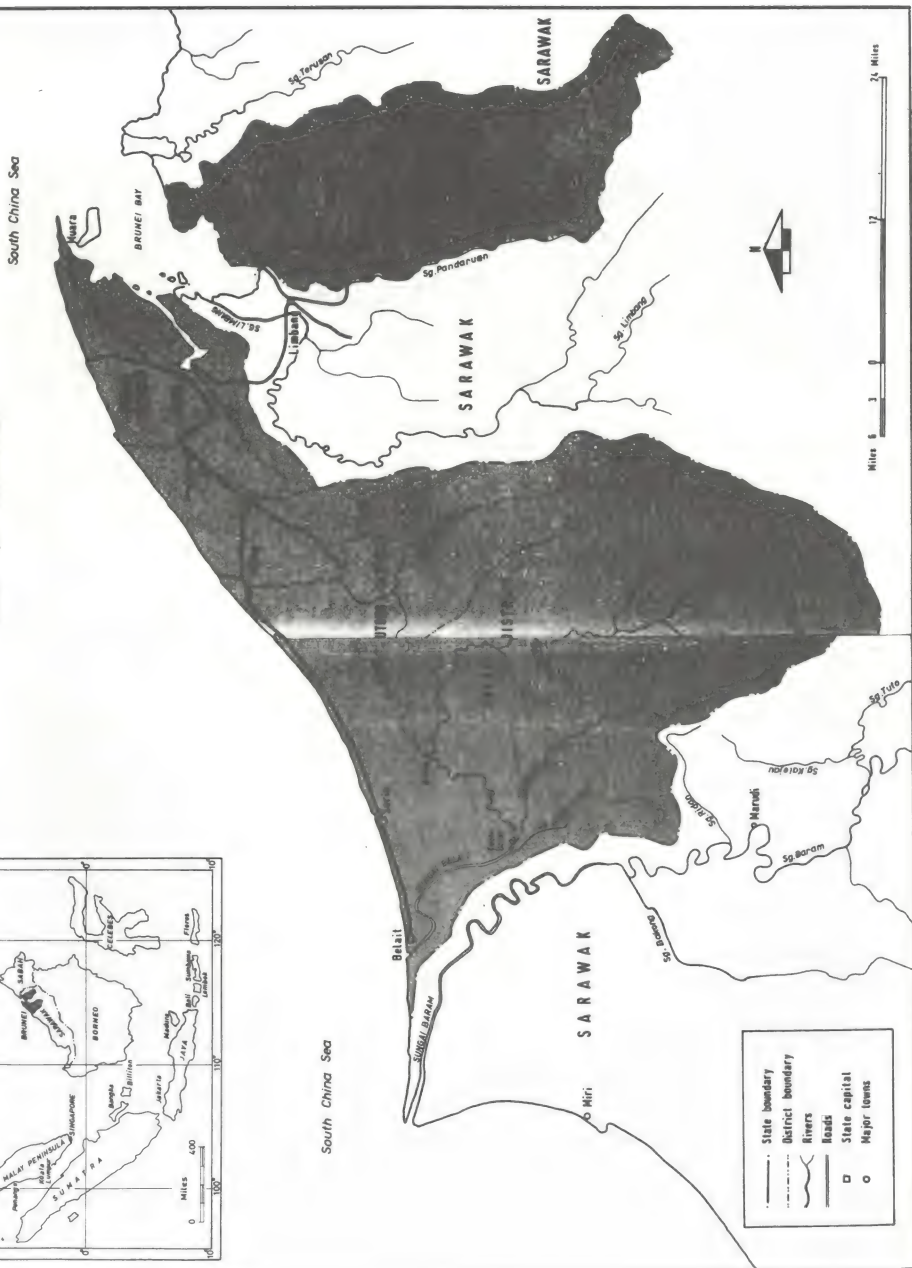
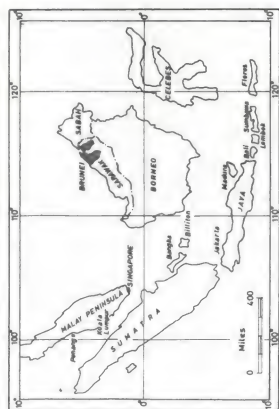


Donald Stephens.



Ong Kee Hui

# MAP OF BRUNEI



Map of Brunei

**KIRAM CORPORATION**  
**JOLO, SULU. PHILIPPINES**

Princess Tarhata Kiram

Manila November 28th 1962

His Highness  
Sir Omar Ali Saifuddin  
Sultan of the State of Brunei  
Brunei.

Your Highness:

Confirming our conversations with Mr. A.M. Azahari, Chairman of the Party Rakyat, I wish to state that as Legal Adviser to the heirs of Jamalul Kiram, former Sultan of Sulu and as controlling stock-holder of the Kiram Corporation who is the assignee of all the rights and interests of the heirs of the former Sultan of Sulu, I want to express my conformity to surrender the rights and interests of the said heirs of the former Sultan of Sulu to certain portions of British North Borneo which was the subject of a contract between the Sultanate of Sulu and the North Borneo Company, at present represented by the British Government, as successor in interest to the North Borneo Company, in favor of the Sultanate of Brunei in accordance with the expressed principles of the Party Rakyat, Brunei, Kalimantan Utara.

The terms and conditions under which the transfer of rights will be carried out shall be determined upon mutual understanding and agreement.

With renewed assurances of our cooperation for the establishment of a unified independent Kalimantan Utara under the sovereignty of Your Highness.

I beg to remain!

Your most humble servant!

Nicasio Osmena  
President, Kiram Corporation

Document No. 17/PRB/62

# KIRAM CORPORATION

JOLO, SULU, PHILIPPINES

*Princess Tarkula Kiram*  
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

Manila November 28th., 1962

His Highness  
Sir Omar Ali Saifuddin  
Sultan of the State of Brunei  
Brunei.

Your Highness:

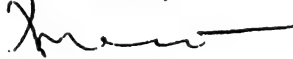
Confirming our conversations with Mr. A. M. Azahari, Chairman of the Party Rakyat, I wish to state that as Legal Adviser to the heirs of Jamalul Kiram, former Sultan of Sulu and as controlling stockholder of the Kiram Corporation who is the assignee of all the rights and interests of the heirs of the former Sultan of Sulu, I want to express my conformity to surrender the rights and interests of the said heirs of the former Sultan of Sulu to certain portions of British North Borneo which was the subject of a contract between the Sultanate of Sulu and the North Borneo Company at present represented by the British Government as successor in interest to the North Borneo Company, in favor of the Sultanate of Brunei in accordance with the expressed principles of the Party Rakyat, Brunei Kalimantan Utara.

The terms and conditions under which the transfer of rights will be carried out shall be determined upon mutual understanding and agreement.

With renewed assurances of our cooperation for the establishment of a unified independent Kalimantan Utara under the sovereignty of Your Highness,

I beg to remain,

Your most humble servant,



Jeanio Omena

President, Kiram Corporation



Ref: JMM 26/62/III  
Brunei, 3hb Desember, 1962

Yang Berhormat,  
Awang Abdul Hafidz bin P.O.K. Laksamana,  
Sungai Kedayan,  
BRUNEI.

Tuan,

## USOL

Berhubung dengan surat tuan yang bertarikh 24th November, 1962, berkenaan dengan maksud tuan untuk memasukkan sebuah usol buat di-perbincang-kan dalam Majlis Meshuarat Negeri, yang akan di adakan pada 5 dan 6 haribulan Desember, 1962 seperti berikut:

“Bahawa Majlis Meshuarat Negeri yang bersidang hari ini mengambil keputusan menuntut Kerajaan British membatalkan konsip Malaysia yang direnchanakan akan di-ujudkan pada bulan August, 1963; kerana tindakan kerajaan British yang demikian adalah merupakan penapian atas hak asasi rakyat dalam menentukan nasib sendiri”.

Maka saya di-perintah oleh Yang Berhormat Tuan Speaker untuk meperma'alomkan bahawa usol tuan yang tersebut di-atas adalah berkaitan dengan hal di-antara Kerajaan British dan Malaya dan tidak-lah ada kena mengena dengan Kerajaan Brunei dan Negeri ini tidak berhak bertindak di-dalam sesuatu perkara yang tiada mengenai Negeri ini.

2. Oleh yang sedemikian usol tuan yang tersebut di-atas tidak-lah dapat dimasukkan dalam agenda untuk di-perbincang-kan dalam Persidangan Majlis Meshuarat Negeri Brunei.

Yang ta'at menurut perintah

(PENGIRAN MOMIN)  
Juru Tulis  
Majlis Meshuarat Negeri,  
Brunei.

Tel. 313



**Jabatan Majlis Mesuarat,  
Negeri Brunei**  
**Office of Council of State**

Ref: JMM 26/62XIII .....

Brunei, 3hb Desember, 1962.

Yang Berhormat,  
Awang Abdul Hafidz bin P.O.K. Laksamana,  
Sungai Kedayan,  
BRUNEI.

Tuan,

U S O L

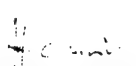
Berhubung dengan surat tuan yang bertarikh 24hb November, 1962 berkenaan dengan maksud tuan untuk memasokkan sebuah usul buat di-perbincangkan dalam Majlis Meshuarat Negeri, yang akan di-adakan pada 5 dan 6 haribulan Desember, 1962 seperti berikut -

" Bahawa Majlis Meshuarat Negeri yang bersidang hari ini mengambil keputusan menuntut Kerajaan British membatalkan konsip Malaysia yang direncanakan akan di-ujudkan pada bulan August, 1963; kerana tindakan Kerajaan British yang demikian adalah merupakan penapisan atas hak asasi rakyat dalam menentukan nasib sendiri"

maka saya di-perintah oleh Yang Berhormat Tuan Speaker untuk memperma'alomkan bahawa usul tuan yang tersebut di-atas adalah berkaitan dengan hal di-antara Kerajaan British dan Malaya dan tidak-lah ada kena mengena dengan Kerajaan Brunei dan Negeri ini tidak berhak bertindak di-dalam sesuatu perkara yang tiada mengenai Negeri ini.

2. Oleh yang sedemikian usul tuan yang tersebut di-atas tidak-lah dapat di-masokkan dalam agenda untuk di-perbincangkan dalam Persidangan Majlis Meshuarat Negeri Brunei.

Yang ta'at menurut perintah,

  
(PENGIRAN MOHIN)  
Juru Tulis  
Majlis Mesuarat Negeri,  
Brunei.

Yang Berhormat,  
Inche Md. Yassin bin Abdul Rahman,  
Dato' Gandi,  
BRUNEI.

Tuan,

U S O L

Berhubung dengan surat tuan yang bertarikh 24hb November, 1962 berkenaan dengan maksud tuan kerana memasokkan suatu usol untuk di-perbincangkan dalam Persidangan Majlis Meshuarat Negeri, yang akan di-adakan pada 5 dan 6 haribulan Desember, 1962 seperti berikut:-

“Bahawa Majlis Meshuarat Negeri yang bersidang hari ini mengambil keputusan mengakui wakil Partai Rakyat untuk membawa hasrat perjuangan nasional kepengetahuan Pertubohan Bangsa2 Bersatu.”

Maka saya di-perentahkan oleh Yang Berhormat Tuan Speaker untuk memperma'alomkan bahawa usol tuan yang tersebut di-atas adalah berkaitan dengan hal ehwal luar negeri dengan kerana mengikut usol ini Majlis Meshuarat Negeri ada-lah di-pinta ber-setuju melantek wakil2 Parti Rakyat sebagai wakil negeri ini di-Pertubohan Bangsa2 Bersatu. Mengikut Perjanjian Brunei 1959, kuasa luar negeri adalah terletak di-bawah Kuasa Kerajaan British dan wakil Negeri Brunei Di-Pertubohan Bangsa2 Bersatu adalah wakil Kerajaan British di-sana itu.

2. Oleh yang demikian usol tuan yang tersebut di-atas tidaklah dapat di-masokkan dalam agenda untuk di-perbincangkan dalam Persidangan Majlis Meshuarat Negeri Brunei.

Yang menurut perintah,

(PENGIRAN MOMIN)

Juru Tulis

Majlis Meshuarat Negeri,  
Brunei.

Tel. 313



(17)  
**Jabatan Majlis Meshuarat,  
Negeri Brunei**  
**Office of Councils of State**

Ref: JMM 25/62/III

Brunei, 3hb Desember, 19 62.

Yang Berhormat,  
Inche Md. Yassin bin Abdul Rahman,  
Dato' Gandhi,  
BRUNEI.

Tuan,

U S O L

Berhubung dengan surat tuan yang bertarikh 24hb November, 1962 berkenaan dengan maksud tuan kerana memasokkan suatu usul untuk di-perbincangkan dalam Persidangan Majlis Meshuarat Negeri, yang akan di-adakan pada 5 dan 6 haribulan Desember, 1962 seperti berikut -

" Bahawa Majlis Meshuarat Negeri yang bersidang hari ini mengambil keputusan mengakui wakil2 Partai Rakyat untuk membawa hasrat perjuangan nasional ka-pengetahuan Pertubohan Bangsa2 Bersatu"

maka saya di-perintahkannya oleh Yang Berhormat Tuan Speaker untuk memperma'alomkan bahawa usul tuan yang tersebut di-atas adalah berkaitan dengan hal ehwal luar negeri dengan kerana mengikut usul ini Majlis Meshuarat Negeri ada-lah di-pinta bersetuju melantik wakil2 Parti Rakyat sebagai wakil negeri ini di-Pertubohan Bangsa2 Bersatu. Mengikut Perjanjian Brunei 1959, kuasa luar negeri adalah terletak di-bawah Kuasa Kerajaan British dan wakil Negeri Brunei di-Pertubohan Bangsa2 Bersatu adalah wakil Kerajaan British di-sana itu.

2. Oleh yang demikian usul tuan yang tersebut di-atas tidak-lah dapat di-masokkan dalam agenda untuk di-perbincangkan dalam Persidangan Majlis Meshuarat Negeri Brunei.

Yang menurut perintah,

(PENGIRAN MOMIN)  
Jurur Tulis  
Majlis Meshuarat Negeri,  
Brunei.

Yang Berhormat,  
Inche Mohd. Idris bin Im. Hj. Md. Said,  
Sinaut, Tutong,

Tuan,

## U S O L

Berhubung dengan surat tuan yang bertarikh 24hb November, 1962 berkenaan dengan maksud tuan untuk memasukkan sebuah usul buat di-perbincangkan dalam Persidangan Majlis Meshuarat Negeri, yang akan di-adakan pada 5 dan 6 haribulan Desember, 1962 seperti berikut:-

“Bahawa Majlis Meshuarat Negeri yang bersidang hari ini bersetuju mengambil keputusan menuntut kepada Kerajaan supaya mengadakan perubahan dan menaikkan tangga gaji bagi Kaum Buroh Kerajaan yang bergaji hari.”

maka saya di-perintah oleh Yang Berhormat Tuan Speaker untuk memperma'alomkan bahawa usul tuan yang tersebut di-atas adalah satu usul yang akan menguntokkan kewangan atau mengenai dengan kewangan atau mata wang Negeri. Mengikut bab 40(2) (i) kecuali dengan kebenaran Duli Yang Maha Mulia yang di-dapati terlebih dahulu, Majlis Meshuarat Negeri tidak berkuasa merundingkan usul yang telah di-kemukakan itu.

2. Oleh yang sedemikian usul tuan yang tersebut di-atas tidak-lah dapat di-masokkan dalam agenda untuk di-perbincangkan dalam Persidangan Majlis Meshuarat Negeri Brunei.

Yang ta'at menurut perintah,

(PENGIRAN MOMIN)  
Juru Tulis  
Majlis Meshuarat Negeri,  
Brunai.

Tel. 313



**Jabatan Majlis Meskuarat,  
Negeri Brunei**  
**Office of Councils of State**

Ref: JMM 25/62/III .....

Brunei, 3hb Desember, 1962.

Yang Berhormat,  
Inche Mohd. Idris bin Im.Hj. Md. Said,  
Sinaut, Tutong.

Tuan,

**U S O L**

Berhubung dengan surat tuan yang bertarikh 24hb November, 1962 berkenaan dengan maksud tuan untuk memasokkan sebuah usul buat di-perbincangkan dalam Persidangan Majlis Meshuarat Negeri, yang akan diadakan pada 5 dan 6 haribulan Desember, 1962 seperti berikut -

" Bahawa Majlis Meshuarat Negeri yang bersidang hari iniersetuju mengambil keputusan menuntut kepada Kerajaan supaya mengadakan perubahan dan menaikkan tangga gaji bagi Kaum Buroh Kerajaan yang bergaji hari"

maka sava di-perintah oleh Yang Berhormat Tuan Speaker untuk mempermalomkan bahawa usul tuan yang tersebut di-atas adalah satu usul yang akan menguntokkan kewangan atau mengenai dengan kewangan atau mata wang Negeri. Mengikut bab 40(?) (1) kechuali dengan kebenaran Duli Yang Maha Mulia yang di-dapati terlebih dahulu, Majlis Meshuarat Negeri tidak berkuasa merundingkan usul yang telah di-kemukakan itu.

2. Oleh yang sedemikian usul tuan yang tersebut di-atas tidak-lah dapat di-masokkan dalam agenda untuk di-perbincangkan dalam Persidangan Majlis Meshuarat Negeri Brunei.

Yang ta'at menurut perintah,

(PENGIRAN MOMIN)

Jury Tulis  
Majlis Meshuarat Negeri,  
Brunei.

Ref: 25/62/III

Brunei: 3hb Desember, 1962.

Yang Berhormat,  
Pengiran Metussin bin Pengiran Haji Lampoh,  
Kampong Pekan lama,  
BRUNEI.

Pengiran,

Ehwal adalah dengan hormatnya saya menyusul kepada surat Pengiran bertarikh 24th November, 1962, dan usol Pengiran yang dichadangkan untuk di-hadapkan kepada Persidangan Majlis Meshuarat Negeri yang akan datang yang berbunyi:-

“Bahawa Majlis Meshuarat Negeri yang bersidang hari ini mengambil keputusan mendesak Kerajaan British untuk mengembalikan kedaulatan Seri Baginda Maulana Al-Sultan Brunei di-seluruh Kalimantan Utara sebagai raja yang berperlembagaan dan berparliment dalam bentuk Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara yang berchorak demokrasi seratus peratus dan memberikan kemerdekaan penoh pada tahun 1963”

2. Berkenaan dengan usol ini saya sukachita jika sekira-nya Pengiran dapat memberi fikiran yang lebih mendalam kepada perkara ini dengan memandang bahawasa-nya usol ini adalah satu usol yang menyentuh hak kuasa Duli Yang Maha Mulia Maulana Al-Sultan dan jika usol ini di-bawa dengan perkataan2 saperti yang tersebut di-dalam usol itu ada-lah berma'ana bahawa Majlis Meshuarat Negeri mendesak Duli Yang Maha Mulia Al-Sultan untuk mendesak Kerajaan British mengembalikan kedaulatan Sarawak dan Sabah kepada Brunei. Seperti mana yang Pengiran lebeh ma'lom kedudukan Sarawak dan Sabah adalah di-kawal oleh beberapa treaty dan perjanjian dan tindakan yang di-kehendaki di-dalam usol ini ialah untuk memechahkan treaty2 dan perjanjian2 itu. Sebelum tindakan ini di-jalankan patut-lah treaty2 dan perjanjian2 itu dan jua alasan2 untuk mendesak itu di-kaji dengan sehalus2-nya untuk mendapati suatu kedudukan yang kukoh sebelum tuntutan di-perbuat. Jika di-buat sesuatu tuntutan dengan tiada menyediakan alasan2 yang kukoh dan tuntutan ini di-ketepikan atau pun di-tolak

maka ini akan membawa kepada suatu kemaluan dan ka'aipan yang besar yang akan memburokkan nama baik Negeri Brunei pada masa ini yang harus tidak akan dapat ditebuskan lagi. Jika usol ini di-terima pada masa ini maka terpaksa-lah Duli Yang Maha Mulia mengambil tindakan walau pun bagi pihak Negeri Brunei ada alasan yang kukoh atau tidak. Ini ada-lah pandangan saya suatu pekerjaan yang tidak bijak.

Maka dengan kerana itu saya dengan dukachitanya mengembalikan usol Pengiran memberi pertimbangan yang lebih lanjut dari segi alasan2 yang tersebut dan mengemukakan semula usol dengan pindaan2, jika mustahak ataupun memberi alasan2 itu kepada Kerajaan supaya di-pertimbangkan mengambil tindakan untuk menchapai maksud usol itu ada-nya.

**Yang Tulus Ikhlas,**

**(PG. HAJI ABU BAKAR)**

**Speaker Majlis Meshuarat Negeri Brunei,  
BRUNEI.**



Tel. 313



**Jabatan Majlis Mesnuarat,  
Negeri Brunei**  
**Office of Council of State**

Ref: JMM 25/62/III

Brunei, 3hb Desember, 1962

Yang Berhormat,  
Pengiran Metussin bin Pengiran Haji Lampoh,  
Kampung Pekan Lama,  
BRUNEI.

Pengiran,

Bhwal adalah dengan hormat-nya saya menyusul kepada surat Pengiran bertarikh 24hb November, 1962, dan usol Pengiran yang di-hadangkan untuk di-hadapkan kepada Persidangan Majlis Mesnuarat Negeri yang akan datang yang berbunyi:-

" Bahawa Majlis Mesnuarat Negeri yang bersidang hari ini mengambil keputusan mendesak Kerajaan British untuk mengembalikan kedaulatan Seri Baginda Maulana Al-Sultan Brunei di seluruh Kalimantan Utara sebagai raja yang berperlembagaan dan berparliamnet dalam bentuk Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara yang berchorak demokrasi seratus peratus dan memberikan kemerdekaan penuh pada tahun 1963"

Berkenaan dengan usol ini saya sukachita jika sekira-nya Pengiran dapat memberi fikiran yang lebih mendalam kepada perkara ini dengan memandang bahawasa-nya usol ini adalah satu usol yang menyentuh hak kuasa Duli Yang Maha Mulia Maulana Al-Sultan dan jika usol ini di-bawa dengan perkataan2 seperti yang tersebut di-dalam usol itu ada-lah berm'ana bahwa Majlis Mesnuarat Negeri mendesak Duli Yang Maha Mulia Al-Sultan untuk mendesak Kerajaan British mengembalikan kedaulatan Sarawak dan Sabah kepada Brunei. Seperti mana yang Pengiran lebih ma'alom kedudukan Sarawak dan Sabah adalah di-kawal oleh beberapa treaty dan perjanjian dan tindakan yang di-kehendaki di-dalam usol ini ialah untuk memecahkan treaty2 dan perjanjian2 itu. Sebelum tindakan ini di-jalankan patut-lah treaty2 dan perjanjian2 itu dan jua alasan2 untuk mendesak itu di-kaji dengan sehalus2-nya untuk mendapati suatu kedudukan yang kukuh sebelum tuntutan di-perbuat. Jika di-buat sesuatu tuntutan dengan tiada menyediakan alasan2 yang kukuh dan tuntutan ini di-ketepikan atau pun di-tolak maka ini akan membawa kepada suatu kemaluan dan ka'alpan yang besa: yang akan memburokkan nama baik Negeri Brunei pada masa ini yang harus tidak akan dapat di-tebuskan lagi. Jika usol ini di-terima pada masa ini maka terpaksa-lah Duli Yang Maha Mulia mengambil tindakan walau pun bagi pihak Negeri Brunei ada alasan yang kukuh atau tidak. Ini ada-lah pandangan saya suatu pekerjaan yang tidak bijak.

3. Maka dengan kerana itu saya dengan dukachita-nya mengembalikan usol Pengiran untuk Pengiran memberi pertimbangan yang lebih lanjut dari segi alasan2 yang tersebut dan mengemukakan semula usol dengan pindaan2, jika mustahak atau pun memberi alasan2 itu kepada Kerajaan supaya di-pertimbangkan mengambil tindakan untuk mencapai maksud usol itu ada-nya.

Yang Tulus Ikhlas,

(PG. HAJI ABU BAKAR)

Speaker Majlis Mesnuarat Negeri Brunei,  
BRUNEI.



Inaugural meeting of PRB.



**First party congress**



Party supporters welcoming Merdeka Mission.





Malayan leaders attending Second Party Congress.

**II**

**THE REVOLUTION  
OF  
8th DECEMBER  
1962**

**PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE**  
**8 DECEMBER, 1962.**

**(Translation from the official original in Malay)**

WHEREAS, in common with other subjected peoples of Africa and Asia, the People of Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo immediately after the end of the last war clamoured for the restoration of their inalienable rights to National Freedom so long denied to them by the Colonial Powers;

WHEREAS, our determined, yet peaceful struggle for Independence was resisted by the British Colonial authorities by various tyrannical means including the banning of nationalist organizations and arresting their leaders;

WHEREAS, undaunted by this stern repressive measures, the leaders of the liberation movement organised the Party Rakyat in 1956 and from that time on this patriotic party was able to unify all the people of Brunei as well as extend its influence in Sarawak and North Borneo;

WHEREAS, the Party Rakyat in pursuance of its avowed policy of obtaining the Independence of Kalimantan Utara through peaceful and constitutional means, in January 1957 sent a Memorandum to the Colonial Secretary asking for reasonable political reforms; and this Memorandum was followed by an official delegation which held lengthy discussion with the said Colonial Secretary all to no avail;

WHEREAS, the Party Rakyat in spite of the growing discontentment among the people, continued to peacefully agitate for political reforms and independence until the British granted to the people of Brunei on September 29, 1959 a semi democratic constitution which guaranteed elections within two years from the date of its promulgation;

WHEREAS, when the date of the promised elections came nearer, the British authorities in Brunei suddenly announced that the elections cannot be held as scheduled "due to certain unforeseen

circumstances”.

WHEREAS, in the face of this treachery, the Party Rakyat continued to voice their protest by means of orderly, popular demonstrations until it succeeded in having the election held on July 21, 1962;

WHEREAS, in the election, the People of Brunei expressed their unconditional support and allegiance to the Party Rakyat by electing their official candidates to 54 of the 55 seats in the District Council and to all the 16 elective seats in the Legislative Council;

WHEREAS, when this first elected legislative Council was about to meet last Decembar 5, the Party Rakyat presented to... the government three major motions for inclusion in the agenda, namely: (1) a motion rejecting the concepts of the Federation of Malaysia; (2) a motion asking the British Government to restore the sovereignty of the Sultanate of Brunei over her former territories of Sarawak and North Borneo; and (3) a motion urging the British Government to federate the three territories of Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo under the Unitary State of Kalimantan Utara with Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin as its constitutional and parliamentary Head of State and the granting of complete and absolute Independence to this new State not late than 1963;

WHEREAS, the British authorities knowing that these motions will be carried out because the Party is in control of all the elected seats in the assembly, exerted through a seconded Malayan Attorney General, political pressure on the Speaker of the Brunei Legislative Assembly, who is appointed by the Sultan with the consent of the British authorities, and compelled the said Speaker to reject the inclusion of these important motions from the Agenda;

WHEREAS, not content with this rejection, the British authorities twice postponed the proposed meeting of the Assembly, first sitting the date on December 13th and then on December 19th;

WHEREAS, in the meanwhile the Party Rakyat received reliable reports that the British and Malayan governments have decided



to proclaim the Federation of Malaysia before the end of this year even against the wishes of the citizens of Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo;

WHEREAS, the forced incorporation of our territories and people into the artificial Federation of Malaysia would be tantamount to replacing the rusty iron chains of British bondage that shackles our people with the new steel chains manufactured by the neo-colonialists, a mere matter of changing masters for the slaves;

WHEREAS, the callous and inhuman disposition on countries and whole nations by the colonial powers is in direct contravention of the principle of self-determination as set forth in the United Nations Declaration of December 14, 1960, which specifically provides in its paragraph 5, as follows: "Immediate steps shall be taken in Trust and Non-Self Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservation, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom;

WHEREAS, In face of this imminent threat to our people's liberty and to our national security, and before we are sold into a darker and more terrifying bondage, the people of Kalimantan Utara have decided to exercise their inherent and undeniable rights to freedom and self-preservation.

THEREFORE, the acknowledged leaders of the people of Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo, meeting in the name of Liberty, Justice and Humanity, have this day, December 8, 1962, solemnly proclaimed the absolute and complete Independence of Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara with Sultan Umar Ali Saifuddin as the Constitutional and Parliamentary Head of State, hereby sincerely enjoy all freedom-loving nations to extend to our New State their recognition and assistance in the name of International friendship and the Universal brotherhood of men.

# **UNDANG-UNDANG DASAR SEMENTARA NEGARA KESATUAN KALIMANTAN UTARA TAHUN 1962**

## **PEMBUKAAN**

Kemerdekaan bagi sesuatu bangsa bukanlah merupakan sesuatu cita-cita yang jahat, kemerdekaan adalah suatu hak asasi, tujuan yang suci murni yang menjadi kewajiban tiap-tiap individual dan bangsa dari suatu golongan umat manusia di dunia ini.

Hak Kemerdekaan bagi rakyat Kalimantan Utara seluruhnya bukanlah sesuatu cita-cita yang baru saja tumbuh, historis atau historically Negara Kalimantan Utara dalam abad-abad yang lalu adalah merupakan satu Negara yang besar berdaulat keluar dan ke dalam. Rakyat Kalimantan Utara pada generasi yang lalu adalah rakyat yang hidup dalam udara kemerdekaan dan bersih daripada segala pengaruh asing dan kekuasaan penjajah. Di dalam menurut process alam sebagaimana nasibnya sebahagian besar rakyat Asia-Afrika melalui periode kekuasaan penjajah, begitu pula Negara dan Rakyat Kalimantan Utara tidak dapat melepaskan dirinya dari process itu. Lebih kurang seratus tahun kita dikongkong, ditekan dan dihisap oleh kekuasaan penjajah Inggeris yang disalurkan melalui alat-alatnya untuk melebarkan policy 'divide et empera' yang terkenal. Tetapi shukur Alhamdulillah Tuhan Yang Maha Esa telah menurunkan perasaan Nasionalisme kepada seluruh rakyat Asia-Afrika dari masa berpuluh-puluh tahun yang lampau, dengan faham Nasionalisme tertanam di dalam jiwa seluruh Rakyat Asia-Afrika maka mulailah kekuasaan penjajah goyang kedudukan dan pengaruh mereka. Dengan semangat Nasionalisme satu demi satu lepasnya dari rantai belunggu penjajahan dan menjelma menjadi bangsa-bangsa merdeka dan berdaulat keluar dan kedalam. Menjelmana kemerdekaan disebahagian besar Negara2 Asia-Afrika semenjak selesainya Perang Dunia ke-II adalah merupakan sesuatu sumber inspirasi Nasional dari sebahagian rakyat yang masih dalam kongkongan penjajahan. Oleh sebab penjajah belum lagi mati dan belum lagi dikuburkan sehingga sampai saat2 ini perjuangan anti-kolonialisme masih berjalan terus.

Begitulah adanya nasib rakyat Kalimantan Utara berjuang untuk melepaskan dirinya dari kongkongan penjajah Inggeris. Berpuluh-puluh tahun rakyat Kalimantan Utara berjuang melalui process evolusi dan menyelurkan perjuangan-nya secara constitutional, tetapi

penjajah Inggeris dengan tidak malu2 dan tidak mahu melalui process alam secara sihat dan baik. Kuasa Penjajah Inggeris tidak mahu mendengarkan dan sekurang-kurangnya tuntutan2 rakyat Kalimantan Utara yang menjadi hak asasi, sungguhpun Inggeris sebagai salah satu Kuasa Besar yang ikut menandatangani Atlantic Charter yang antara isinya mengakui hak kemerdekaan dan bebas memilih apa corak Pemerintah.

Pengalaman2 rakyat Kalimantan Utara dan rantai penjajahan adalah tidak ubah sebagai nasib rakyat dinegara-negara Asia-Afrika yang pernah menempuh periode Penjajahan. Dengan cita-cita Nasionalime untuk mencipta Kalimantan Utara Bersatu dan Merdeka melalui process evolusi dan constitutional sudah tidak mungkin lagi, maka itulah yang mendorong rakyat Kalimantan Utara untuk memproklamirkan Kemerdekaannya dan membentuk Badan Persiapan Kemerdekaan dibawah pimpinan Kuasa Tertinggi Pemerintah Revolusioner Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara. Politik co-operation sudah tidak mungkin dijalankan lagi, Kerajaan Inggeris sudah mengkhianati janjinya untuk mengadakan Pilihan Raya, rakyat Kalimantan Utara tidak lagi dapat mendiamkan diri bersabar lebih lanjut. Secara spontan dan totalitar rakyat Kalimantan Utara mendokong Pemerintahan Revolusioner yang diproklamirkan. Tuntutan Rakyat Kalimantan Utara untuk menjadi satu Bangsa yang merdeka berdaulat keluar dan ke dalam adalah merupakan satu tuntutan yang suci dan Adil.

Maka dengan itu disusunlah satu Undang-Undang Dasar Sementara Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara yang berkedaulatan Rakyat, yang berdasarkan (1) KETUHANAN YANG MAHA ESA, (2) NEGARA KESATUAN DAN KEBANGSAAN dan (3) KEDAULATAN RAKYAT KEADILAN SOSIAL DAN KEMANUSIAAN.

## **BAB 1**

### **BENTUK DAN KEDAULATAN**

#### **Pasal 1**

- (1) Negara Kalimantan Utara adalah Negara Kesatuan yang berbentuk Parliamentary Monarch.
- (2) Kedaulatan adalah ditangan Rakyat dan dilakukan sepenuhnya oleh Majlis Permesyuaratan Rakyat.

**BAB II**  
**MAJLIS PERMESYUARATAN RAKYAT**  
**Pasal 2**

- (1) Majlis Permesyuaratan Rakyat terdiri dari anggota2 Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, ditambah dengan utusan dari Daerah2 dan golongan2 menurut apa yang ditetapkan oleh Undang-undang.
- (2) Majlis Permesyuaratan Rakyat bersidang sekurang-kurangnya sekali dalam tiga tahun di ibu kota Negara.
- (3) Segala keputusan Majlis Permesyuaratan Rakyat ditetapkan oleh suara yang terbanyak.

**Pasal 3**

Majlis Permesyuaratan Rakyat menetapkan Undang-undang Dasar dan garis-garis daripada haluan Negara.

**BAB III**  
**KEKUASAAN PEMERINTAH NEGARA**  
**Pasal 4**

- (1) Perdana Menteri Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara memegang kuasa Pemerintah menurut Undang-Undang dasar.
- (2) Perdana Menteri dibantu oleh Wakil Perdana Menteri I dan II.

**Pasal 5**

- (1) Perdana Menteri mempunyai kekuasaan membentuk Undang-undang dengan persetujuan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat.
- (2) Perdana Menteri menentukan peraturan pemerintah untuk menjalankan Undang-undang sebagaimana mestinya.

**Pasal 6**

Perdana Menteri dan wakil-wakilnya dipilih oleh Majlis Permesyuaratan Rakyat dengan suara yang terbanyak.

**Pasal 7**

Perdana Menteri dan wakil-wakilnya memegang jawatannya selama lima tahun dan sesudahnya dapat dipilih kembali.

## **Pasal 8**

Jika Perdana Menteri mangkat, berhenti atau tidak dapat melakukan kewajibannya dalam masa jabatannya untuk sementara menunggu keputusan majlis Permesyuaratan Rakyat, maka Wakil Perdana Menteri I memegang jawatan Perdana Menteri.

## **Pasal 9**

Sebelum memangku jawatannya, Perdana Menteri dan Wakil-wakilnya bersumpah menurut agama dihadapan Majlis Permesyuaratan Rakyat atau Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat sebagai berikut:-

“Demi Allah saya bersumpah akan mematuhi kewajipan Perdana Menteri Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara (Wakil Perdana Menteri 1/Wakil Perdana Menteri II) dengan sebaik-baiknya memegang teguh Undang-Undang Dasar dan Peraturan-peraturannya dengan sejujur-jujurnya serta berbakti kepada Agama, Nusa dan Bangsa.”

## **Pasal 10**

Perdana Menteri memegang kekuasaan tertinggi atas Angkatan Darat, Angkatan Laut dan Angkatan Udara.

## **Pasal 11**

Perdana Menteri dengan persetujuan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat menyatakan perang, membuat perdamaian dan perjanjian dengan Negeri lain.

## **Pasal 12**

Perdana Menteri menyatakan keadaan bahaya, syarat-syarat dan akibatnya ditetapkan dengan Undang-undang.

## **Pasal 13**

- (1) Perdana Menteri menunjuk Duta dan Konsul, dan disahkan oleh Sri Mahkota Negara.
- (2) Sri Mahkota Negara menerima Duta Negara lain.

#### **Pasal 14**

Sri Mahkota Negara memberi gelaran, tanda jasa dan lain-lain tanda kehormatan atas nasehat Perdana Menteri.

#### **Pasal 15**

Sri Mahkota Negara memberi grasi, amnesti, abolisi dan rehabilitasi atas nasehat Perdana Menteri.

### **BAB IV**

## **DEWAN PERTIMBANGAN AGUNG**

#### **Pasal 16**

- (1) Susunan Dewan Pertimbangan Agung ditetapkan oleh Undang-Undang.
- (2) Dewan ini berkewajiban memberi jawapan atas pertanyaan Perdana Menteri dan berhak memajukan usul kepada Pemerintah.

### **BAB V**

## **KEMENTERIAN NEGARA**

#### **Pasal 17**

- (1) Perdana Menteri dibantu oleh Menteri2 Negara.
- (2) Menteri2 itu diangkat dan diberhentikan oleh Perdana Menteri.
- (3) Menteri2 itu memimpin Department Pemerintahan.

### **BAB VI**

## **PEMERENTAHAN DAERAH**

#### **Pasal 18**

Pembahagian Daerah Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara atas Daerah besar dan kecil, dengan bentuk susunan pemerintahannya ditetapkan oleh Undang-undang.

### **BAB VII**

## **DEWAN PERWAKILAN RAKYAT**

#### **Pasal 19**

- (1) Susunan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat ditetapkan dengan Undang-Undang.
- (2) Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat bersidang sedikitnya sekali dalam setahun.

#### **Pasal 20**

- (1) Tiap2 Undang-Undang menghendaki pengesahan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat.
- (2) Jika sesuatu rencana Undang-Undang tidak mendapat pengesahan dari Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, maka rencana Undang-Undang itu tidak boleh dimajukan lagi dalam persidangan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat masa itu.

### **Pasal 21**

- (1) Anggota2 Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat berhak memajukan renchana Undang2.
- (2) Jika renchana Undang-Undang itu, meskipun disetujui oleh Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, tidak disahkan oleh Sri Mahkota Negara atas nasehat Perdana Menteri, maka renchana Undang2 tadi tidak boleh dimajukan lagi dalam persidangan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat masa ini.

### **Pasal 22**

- (1) Dalam hal-ehwal kegentingan yang memaksa, Perdana Menteri berhak menetapkan Peraturan Pemerintah sebagai pengganti Undang-Undang.
- (2) Peraturan Pemerintah itu harus mendapat persetujuan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat dalam persidangannya yang berikut.
- (3) Jika tidak dapat persetujuan, maka peraturan Pemerintah itu harus dichabut.

## **BAB VIII HAK KEUANGAN**

### **Pasal 23**

- (1) Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanjawan Negara ditetapkan tiap2 tahun dengan Undang-Undang. Apabila Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat mengesahkan anggaran yang diusulkan Pemerintah, maka Pemerintah berhak menjalankan anggaran tahun yang lalu.
- (2) Segala pajak dan cukai untuk keperluan Negara berdasarkan Undang2.
- (3) Macham dan harga mata wang ditetapkan dengan Undang-Undang.
- (4) Hak Keuangan selanjutnya diatur dengan Undang2.
- (5) Untuk pertanggungan jawab keuangan Negara diadakan suatu Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan, yang mana peraturannya ditetapkan dengan Undang-Undang. Hasil pemeriksaan itu diberitahukan kepada Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat.

## **BAB IX KEKUASAAN KEHAKIMAN**

### **Pasal 24.**

- (1) Kekuasaan Kehakiman dilakukan oleh sebuah Mahkamah Agung dan lain2 badan Kehakiman menurut Undang-Undang.
- (2) Susunan dan kekuasaan Badan2 Kehakiman itu diatur dengan Undang2.
- (3) Kekuasaan Kehakiman adalah bebas dari pengaruh kekuasaan

Pemerintahan.

### **Pasal 25**

Syarat2 untuk menjadi dan untuk diberhentikan sebagai Hakim ditetapkan dengan Undang2.

## **BAB X WARGA NEGARA**

### **Pasal 26**

- (a) Yang berhak menjadi Warga Negara dibawah perjalanan Undang2 ialah:
  - (1) Penduduk asli Kalimantan Utara.
  - (2) Peranakan yang ibu atau bapanya adalah salah satu penduduk asli Kalimantan Utara.
  - (3) Ayah atau ibu-nya berasal dari Kepulauan Melayu (Malay Archipelago-Malaya, Indonesia, Philippines dll) yang ianya dilahirkan di Kalimantan Utara.
- (b) Naturalization:  
Warga Negara yang diNaturalization:
  - (1) Yang berhak menjadi Warga Negara di-BAB ini ialah orang2 yang berasal dari Kepulauan Melayu (Malay Archipelago) yang menetap tinggal terus menerus di Kalimantan Utara tujuh daripada sepuluh tahun.
  - (2) Orang2 asing yang bukan berasal dari Kepulauan Melayu (Malay Archipelago) dapat memohon untuk menjadi Warga Negara dengan syarat2 yang ditentukan oleh Undang-undang.
  - (3) Orang2 asing yang dilahirkan diKalimantan Utara yang menunjukkan taat setianya dan ikut serta dalam menegakkan Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara dengan sendirinya akan menjadi Warga Negara.

### **Pasal 27**

- (1) Segala Warga Negara bersamaan kedudukannya dalam Hukum dan Pemerintahan dan wajib menjunjung Hukum dan Pemerintahan itu dengan tidak ada kecualinya.
- (2) Tiap2 Warga Negara berhak atas pekerjaan dan penghidupan yang layak bagi kemanusiaan.

### **Pasal 28**

Kebebasan berorganisasi, berkumpul, berdemonstrasi, mengeluarkan fikiran dengan lisan dan tulisan dan sebagainya ditentukan dalam satu Undang2 khas.



**BAB XI**  
**AGAMA**  
**Pasal 29**

- (1) Negara berdasarkan atas KETUHANAN YANG MAHA ESA.
- (2) Negara menjamin hak tiap2 penduduk untuk memeluk agamanya masing2 dan menjalankan ibadat menurut agamanya dan kepercayaannya itu.
- (3) Negara akan memberikan subsidi untuk menuju kearah kemajuan agama yang diatur oleh Undang2.

**BAB XII**  
**Pasal 30**

- (1) Tiap2 Warga Negara dimestikan ikut serta dalam usaha pembelaan Negara dan menjaga ketenteraman umum dan patuh kepada Undang2 Negara.
- (2) Segala sesuatu syarat yang berkenaan dengan pembelaan Negara diatitkan dalam satu Undang2 khas.
- (3) Pertahanan Negara sepenuhnya dikuasai oleh Negara dan Rakyat Kalimantan Utara sendiri.

**BAB XIII**  
**PENDIDIKAN**

**Pasal 31**

Tiap2 Warga Negara berhak mendapat pengajaran.

Pemerintahan diwajibkan mengatur dan menyelenggarakan satu sistem Pendidikan Nasional yang diatur dalam satu Undang2 khas.

**Pasal 32**

Pemerintahan berkewajiban mencipta, mengatur dan memajukan Kebudayaan Nasional.

**BAB XIV**  
**KEBAJIKAN MASYARAKAT**

**Pasal 33**

Untuk menjamin kebajikan Masyarakat:

- (a) Perekonomian disusun secara koliktif dan dipimpin oleh Negara.
- (2) Segala sesuatu produksi yang penting bagi negara serta yang merupakan hajat hidup orang banyak diawasi sepenuhnya oleh Negara.
- (3) Bumi dan air dan kekayaan alam yang terkandung didalamnya menjadi hak Negara dan dipergunakan sepenuhnya bagi kebajikan dan kemakmuran Rakyat.
- (4) Segala Warga Negara yang tidak dapat menjalankan sesuatu pekerjaan sebagai sumber penghidupan oleh kerana kerosakan

pencaindra serta berusia tua dan yang hidup dalam kemiskinan dan penderitaan adalah menjadi tanggungjawab Negara dan diatur dalam Undang2 khas.

## **BAB XV BENDERA DAN BAHASA**

### **Pasal 34**

Bendera Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara ialah Merah, Putih dengan segi tiga Hijau ditengah tepi sebelah hujung.

### **Pasal 35**

Bahasa Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara ialah BAHASA MELAYU.

## **BAB XVI KEBANGSAAN DAN LAGU KEBANGSAAN**

### **Pasal 36.**

Kebangsaan Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara ialah RAKYAT KALIMANTAN.

### **Pasal 37**

Lagu kebangsaan Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara ialah NEGARA KALIMANTAN.

## **BAB XVII PERUBAHAN UNDANG-UNDANG DASAR**

### **Pasal 38**

- (1) Undang2 Dasar hanya dapat dirobahkan bilamana anggota2 Majlis Permesyuaratan Rakyat berhadir tidak kurang 2/3 dari jumlah anggota.
- (2) Sahnya sesuatu keputusan Undang-Undang Dasar bilamana dapat persetujuan sekurang-kurangnya 2/3 dari jumlah anggota-anggota yang hadir.

## **PEMINDAHAN KEKUASAAN**

### **Pasal I**

Pemindahan kekuasaan akan diselenggarakan oleh satu Badan yang digelaran ‘Kekuasaan Tertinggi Pemerintahan Revolusioner’ yang akan menyalurkan kekuasaan selanjutnya kepada ‘Pemerintah Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara’

## **Pasal II**

Sesuatu peraturan, Undang-Undang dan Administrasi yang ada masa ini berjalan terus sehingga sesuatu masa perubahan baru menurut Undang-Undang Dasar.

## **Pasal III**

Kuasa Tertinggi Pemerintah Revolusioner dipimpin oleh seorang Pendana Menteri, Wakil Perdana Menteri I dan II dan oleh beberapa orang Menteri<sup>2</sup> yang akan mengetuai jabatan.

## **Pasal IV**

Kuasa Tertinggi Pemerintah Revolusioner untuk pertama kalinya akan menunjukkan dan mengangkat Perdana Menteri dan Wakil-wakilnya.

## **Pasal V**

Kuasa Tertinggi Pemerintah Revolusioner mengangkat Kepala Negara yang bergelar SRI MAHKOTA NEGARA.

## **Pasal VI**

Untuk pertama kalinya, Sri Baginda Maulana Al-Sultan Brunei dengan sendirinya menjadi SRI MAHKOTA NEGARA.

## **Pasal VII**

Satu Undang<sup>2</sup> khas yang mengandungi tata-tertip dan peradaban bagi pengangkatan Kepala Negara akan diadakan.

**MANIFESTO POLITIK**  
**NEGARA KESATUAN KALIMANTAN UTARA**  
**TAHUN 1962**  
**PEMBUKAAN**  
*(Preamble)*

Tiap-tiap sesuatu pemerintahan seharusnya mempunyai program kerja yang dapat dirobah dari masa kesemasa menurut keadaan situasi dan proses. Demikianlah juga Pemerintah Revolusioner Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara melahirkan satu rangka kerja yang akan dijadikan pedoman yang disesuaikan dengan garis-garis yang nyata, yang pada pokoknya tidak bertentangan dengan Undang2 Dasar Sementara. Sebagai suatu Pemerintah yang baru saja lahir yang berdasarkan kedaulatan Rakyat, maka dengan sendirinya kepentingan2 Rakyat, amanat penderitaan Rakyat adalah menjadi pokok utama yang dilahirkannya Manifesto-Politik, kita membentuk Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara adalah merupakan satu perlawanan yang tegas terhadap politik kolonial Inggeris yang hampir satu abad sudah dapat memecah belahkan Tanah Air kita dan menghancur-leburkan Persatuan Nasional kita. Dengan amanat Rakyat Kalimantan Utara seluruhnya dan dengan bantuan Illahi kita sudah dapat membentuk satu Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara sebagai warisan Datok nenek kita dan sebagai warisan Bangsa kita sebagai kehendak Rakyat kita seluruhnya.

Kita Rakyat Kalimantan Utara seluruhnya harus mengakui yang kita adalah rakyat yang mempunyai Tanah Air yang satu, mempunyai Bangsa yang satu dan mempunyai Bahasa yang satu. Maka dari itu adalah menjadi kewajiban kita seluruhnya untuk mendirikan dan menegakkan satu Pemerintahan yang berkedaulatan Rakyat yang berdasarkan **TRISILA** dan berlambangkan **TRI EKA TUNGGAL EKA** serta tunduk kepada lambang Negara yang berbentuk **KEPALA BANTENG** di atas kepalanya tersusun **TIGA BINTANG KECIL KUNING** dan di atasnya satu **BINTANG BESAR KUNING**.

**Di sini perlu kita jelaskan maksud lambang Negara kita itu:-**

- a) **KEPALA BANTENG** adalah symbol dan Semangat Rakyat yang gagah berani tidak akan patah dan tidak menyerah, kerana kita Rakyat Kalimantan Utara adalah merupakan satu turunan dan mewarisi darah Kepahlawanan Datok Nenek kita dan mewarisi Semangat Persatuan yang tidak kunjung padam.

- b) **TIGA BINTANG KUNING KECIL** di atas **KEPALA BANTENG** adalah merupakan lambang yang tiga daerah Kalimantan Utara yang selama ini dipecah oleh kuasa Penjajahan Inggeris sudah dapat kita persatukan kembali dan kita telah mencipta satu Negara Kalimantan Utara Bersatu.
- c) **SATU BINTANG BESAR KUNING** di atas **TIGA BINTANG KECIL KUNING** adalah sebagai symbol Rakyat Negara Kalimantan Utara Bersatu menuju ke arah satu Idea Kebangsaan yang luas dan besar. Warna kuning dari bintang2 itu adalah merupakan bahawa kita seluruh Rakyat menuju ke arah Negara yang **Adil dan Makmur**.
- d) Perkataan di antara **BINTANG2** dan **KEPALA BANTENG** yang berbunyi:  
**TRI EKA TUNGGAL LEKA** yang bererti tiga Daerah menjadi satu.

Sesuatu perjuangan Rakyat dari sesuatu Bangsa tidak harus meninggalkan perkembangan sejarah, sebab sejarah adalah gambaran perkembangan sesuatu Bangsa dalam abad2 yang lalu. Sungguhpun sejarah Kalimantan Utara adalah merupakan satu sejarah Bangsa yang sangat2 menyedihkan di bawah kekuasaan feudal yang mendasarkan kekuasaannya yang tidak terbatas atau absolute. Dan harus diakui tindak tanduk feudal iaitu pemerintahan mereka di masa yang lampau biarpun tidak keseluruhannya tetapi banyak merugikan kepentingan Nasional dan Rakyat, tetapi tidak juga ditolak kebenarannya Rakyat Kalimantan Utara menurut tradisi adalah Rakyat yang diperintah oleh Raja2; sehingga sampai di saat-saat ini bukti nyata yang Kerajaan Raja maseh tetap ada di Negeri Brunei. Dan tidak ada satu orang pun yang tidak dapat mengakui keturunan dari Raja2 Brunei adalah yang memerintah seluruh Kalimantan Utara. Hal ini diinsafi oleh tiap-tiap Rakyat Kalimantan Utara dan harus pula diakui yang Duli Yang Maha Mulia Maulana Sultan Brunei adalah memegang sejarah yang kuat dan memegang kunci perbendaharaan Nasional yang menjadi landasan tujuan kita membentuk dan menegakkan Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara. Itulah menjadi sebab Pemerintah Revolusioner Kalimantan Utara memasukkan dalam Undang2 Dasar Sementara sebagai Kepala Negara ialah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Maulana Sultan Brunei dengan diberi gelaran Sri Mahkota Negara. Dan kita menyedari Rakyat tidak

harus menyerahkan kekuasaan yang mutlak kepada Sri Mahkota Negara/Absolute Power. Itu yang menjadi sebab Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara Berkedaulatan Rakyat. Jikalau sekiranya secara majority Rakyat Kalimantan Utara melalui Majelis Permesyuaratan Rakyat menghendaki satu Pemerintahan Republic maka 2/3 dari anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat yang hadir akan dapat merobah Undang2 Dasar Sementara. Maka di sini ternyatalah Pemerintah Revolusioner menjalankan dasar2 Demokrasi yang tulen.

Tiap2 negara yang merdeka menurut hukum ketata-negaraan diharuskan mempunyai pertahanan yang kuat, yaitu angkatan Perang Laut, Darat dan Udara dan ditambah dengan alat Pemerintahan yaitu Kepolisian. Sebagaimana selama ini di Kalimantan Utara tidak mempunyai Angkatan Perang ialah sebabnya Kerajaan Inggeris menganggap Pertahanan Kalimantan adalah hak Kerajaan Inggeris dan hak Tentera2 Inggeris. Sehingga sampai seratus tahun kita di bawah kekuasaan Penjajah Inggeris, Kalimantan Utara selama itu langsung tidak mempunyai alat2 Pertahanan Negara dan Rakyat Kalimantan Utara sendiri. Pemerintah Revolusioner dengan tegas menerangkan baik di dalam konstitusi Sementara bahawa Pemerintahan Negara adalah hak dan kewajiban dari tiap2 Warga Negara. Dan di dalam Manifesto ditegaskan begitu rupa bahawa Pemerintah Revolusioner akan menyempurnakan susunan Angkatan Perang, Darat, Laut dan Udara serta Kepolisian dengan perlengkapan yang secukupnya. Sudah tentu maksud penyempurnaan Angkatan Perang itu akan dibentuk begitu rupa sebagai kekuatan Nasional, dan pasti anggota2 angkatan Perang Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara akan terdiri dari Warga Negara Kalimantan Utara sendiri. Dengan itu Angkatan Perang sebagai Pertahanan Negara akan lahir dari Rakyat, demi Rakyat dan untuk Rakyat. Rakyat Kalimantan Utara harus berasa bangga yang Pemerintah Revolusioner Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara dapat menciptakan satu susunan angkatan Perang di dalam masa Revolusi untuk mempertahankan Agama, Bangsa dan Tanah Air.

Pemerintah melindungi hak2 politik kaum minority. Adalah menjadi kewajiban tiap2 pemerintah di muka bumi ini melindungi hak2 kaum minority (golongan2 masyarakat kecil), begitu pula Pemerintah Revolusioner sebagai satu Pemerintah Nasional, sebagai satu Pemerintah Rakyat yang bertamaddun, yang berdasarkan pemerintahannya kepada TRI Sila. Maka adalah menjadi kewajiban

Pemerintah dan Rakyat Kalimantan Utara melindungi hak2 minority. Janganlah Rakyat Kalimantan Utara menjalankan dasar penjajahan Inggris yang selalu menginjak2 dan menekan golongan2 yang lemah. Maka dari itu golongan2 minority yang berada di Kalimantan Utara janganlah hendaknya merasa khawatir tentang hak2nya, sehingga kekhawatiran yang tidak berdasar itu akan mendorong mereka berkerjasama dengan pihak musuh. Tindakan bekerjasama dengan pihak musuh dari golongan2 minority adalah membahayakan kepada diri mereka sendiri.

### **Luar Negeri:**

Sebagai Negara yang Merdeka, lebih2 lagi Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara yang baru lahir dan sedang mengemaskan pemerintahannya tidak harus memisahkan diri dari persahabatan dengan negeri2 lain di Dunia ini terutama Negara2 Asia-Afrika. Sebagai sebuah Negara kecil kita harus bersahabat dengan segala negara2 yang mau menghormati perjuangan dan Pemerintahan kita, lebih2 lagi dengan negara2 yang suka membantu kita dalam menegakkan Pemerintah kita yang baru lahir dan ingin menolong kemajuan Rakyat kita yang sangat terkebelakang. Kita menumpahkan kepercayaan kita kepada seluruh negara2 Asia-Afrika yang sudi bersahabat dengan kita dan memberikan bantuan sepenuhnya untuk menegakkan Pemerintah kita serta membantu kemajuan Bangsa dan Negara kita dalam segala lapangan. Ini bukan berarti kita mengemis atau tidak percaya kepada kekuatan kita sendiri, tetapi kita tidak dapat melepaskan diri dari proses alam masa ini yang mana yakin akan kerjasama yang jujur, tolong bertolong antara satu sama lain, hormat menghormati adalah tangga untuk menghancurkan dari muka bumi ini, dan dengan itu apabila penjajahan telah hancur adalah salah satu faktor bagi pembangunan dunia.

Dengan demikian Pemerintah Revolusioner Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara yakin yang Negara2 Eropah juga akan sudi bersahabat dengan kita. Kita berseru dan menyeru semoga Negara2 Asia-Afrika dan Eropah dapat mengakui *de facto* Pemerintah Revolusioner kita, dan dengan itu kita akan dapat mengatur perwakilan2 kita untuk mencari jalan kerjasama yang *objective* dan *positive*.

Pemerintah Revolusioner akan menjalankan politik Luar Negeri

yang **Neutral dan Active**. Kita harus mengakui yang kita hanya mempunyai Negara yang kecil, Bangsa yang kecil dan baru saja lahir. Lebih2 lagi Pemerintah kita baru saja tumbuh yang dilahirkan oleh Revolusi Nasional kita, adalah sangat mustahil untuk kita menyerahkan diri kita untuk mengikuti salah satu Blok yang sedang bertentangan disebabkan berlainan kepentingan. Sedangkan kita dapat menyaksikan Negara2 yang besar di Asia-Afrika banyak menjalankan dasar politik Luar Negeri yang **Neutral dan Active**. Maka dari itu adalah menjadi kewajiban kita untuk mengutamakan kepentingan Bangsa dan Rakyat kita, dan keluar kita akan menjalankan politik persahabatan yang **Neutral dan Active**.

Pemerintah Revolusioner berusaha untuk menjadi anggota dari Persyarikatan Bangsa2. Pemerintah Revolusioner kita selaku Pemerintah yang sah yang didukung oleh seluruh lapisan masyarakat dan sebagai satu Pemerintah yang **Representative** akan menuntut kepada Bangsa2 Bersatu untuk menerima kita menjadi anggota Persharikatan Bangsa2, dan kita akan menuntut Kalimantan Utara Bersatu harus diakui sebagai satu Bangsa yang berdaulat keluar dan kedalam, sungguh pun hal ini Negara2 sebagai kuasa penjajah, terutama Inggeris akan menentang kita untuk menjadi anggota Persharikatan bangsa2 dan pasti Inggeris akan mendapat sokongan dari Negara2 yang termasuk golongan penjajah atau Negara2 yang masih ingin melihat penjajahan dan perhambaan bermaharajalela di muka bumi ini. Begitu pula tidak sedikit Negara2 Asia-Afrika serta Eropah yang anti Kolonialisme dan Imperialisme akan mendukung tuntutan kita. Tuntutan kita untuk menjadi anggota Persharikatan Bangsa2 akan merupakan ujian adakah Badan Internasional ini merupakan pelindung hak2 asasi manusia, ataulah Persharikatan Bangsa2 hanya menjadi alat Kolonialisme dan Imperialisme?

Pemerintah Revolusioner Kalimantan Utara bukanlah anti British atau Kerajaannya, tetapi kita anti kepada kolonialismenya. Kita menentang kerana ingin merdeka, sebab Rakyat kita, Bangsa kita adalah tahu kepada haknya dan tahu kepada kehormatan diri, Bangsa dan Negara. Dari itu kita dengan tegas mengatakan bahawa pemerintah kita suka berunding dengan Kerajaan Inggeris asalkan atas dasar hormat menghormati dan atas dasar persahabatan yang tidak merugikan kepentingan Nasional kita. Kita hormat kepada Inggeris sebagai salah satu kuasa Besar dan sebagai salah satu Bangsa yang tinggi diplomacynya, tetapi kita anti kepada faham kolonialisme Inggeris kerana tidak mahu memberikan tuntutan2 kita



dengan jalan damai dan constitutional. Dan kita anti kepada kolonial Inggeris kerana selalu kehausan darah Rakyat yang berjuang untuk kemerdekaan Bangsaanya. Bukan bererti kita suka berunding dengan Inggeris buat menyelesaikan Revolusi Nasional kita, yang kita takut memberikan pengorbanan darah bagi mempertahankan Pemerintah kita. Malah kita Rakyat Kalimantan Utara seluruhnya akan sanggup, berkorban habis2an sehingga titik darah yang penghabisan. Tetapi sebagai bangsa yang bertamaddun, sebagai Bangsa yang sopan, sebagai bangsa yang cintakan kemerdekaan, malah juga kita cinta pada perdamaian. Maka kerana terdorong pada perasaan yang ingin melanjutkan persahabatan dengan Kerajaan Inggeris maka Pemerintah Revolusioner suka, malah ingin akan berunding dengan Inggeris sebelum banyak terkorbannya darah rakyat Kalimantan Utara membasahi tanah airnya. Tetapi apabila Inggeris terlalu mempunyai perasaan Superiority Complex akan menggempur kita sehingga Rakyat kita menderita dan memberikan pengorbanan terlalu besar, maka dengan sendirinya pengorbanan Rakyat akan berbalas dan kita selama akan digempur, selama itu juga kita akan memberikan pukulan dengan segala kekuatan yang ada pada kita.

Sebagai Negara yang baru tumbuh yang diciptakan oleh Revolusi Nasional kita dengan sendirinya kita harus mengakui yang kita dalam sifat kekurangan dalam segala lapangan. Maka dari itu kita harus membuka dada kita dan kita harus membuka pintu Negara kita untuk menerima segala bantuan moral dan material untuk melengkapi pembangunan kita dan memperkuat kelemahan2 kita dari Negara mana pun juga di dunia ini terutama dari Negara2 Asia-Afrika. Dengan kuatnya kedudukan politik kita itu belum bererti, jikalau kedudukan ekonomi kita lemah, kedudukan sosial dan kebudayaan kita lemah, dan begitu juga kita akan lemah lagi jikalau kelengkapan Angkatan Perang dan kepolisian kita lemah. Maka dari itu faktor2 ini dengan sendirinya kedudukan kita dalam segala lapangan akan ikut lemah. Untuk membangunkan sebuah negara yang stabil, kita harus menciptakan semangat Kesatuan Nasional yang kuat, dari kedudukan politik yang kuat, kedudukan ekonomi yang stabil, dasar pelajaran yang sempurna, administration yang effective, Pemerintahan yang stabil dan representative, Angkatan Perang dan kepolisian yang lengkap dan berdisiplin sebagai pertahanan Negara, maka barulah kita dapat menggelarkan kedudukan Negara dan Bangsa kita kuat dan maju. Maka untuk menciptakan itu semua kita perlu menerima segala rupa pertolongan

dari segala bangsa apapun juga di dunia ini, dengan syarat tiada mempunyai ikatan apa2 baik politis maupun militer.

## **Ekonomi**

Tiap2 Rakyat Kalimantan Utara menyadari selama kita di bawah kongkongan Penjajah Inggeris, perekonomian Rakyat kucar-kacir dan selama itu pula Rakyat kita tidak mempunyai pedoman untuk menyalurkan dan menyelenggarakan sebagaimana satu system ekonomi harus dibentuk. Kerana kucar-kacirnya perekonomian maka hancurlah juga kedudukan sosial dan pelajaran Rakyat kita. Dan selama itu pula kaum Monopolis Inggeris serta bangsa asing lainnya mempunyai dan memegang kedudukan ekonomi yang kuat. Maka oleh kerana sudah kucar-kacirnya perekonomian Rakyat kita sehingga kita tidak mempunyai moral, untuk memperbaikinya kedudukan ekonomi Nasional kita, pemerintah akan membentuk satu programme yang dijadikan pedoman oleh Pemerintah bagi memimpin Rakyat untuk memperkuat kedudukan ekonomi Nasional. Sebagai salah satu saluran Pemerintah akan menghantar sebanyak2nya anak2 rakyat keluar negeri buat mempelajari bermacam-macam lapangan2, umpamanya lapangan teknik, pertanian, kewangan, administrasi, penternakan, kehutanan, kedokteran dan sebagainya. Dengan mempunyai kader2 dan tenaga2 yang efficient kita akan dapat membangunkan perekonomian Nasional yang constructive dan productive dan dengan itu Rakyat dan Negara kita akan adil dan makmur.

Pemerintah Revolusioner adalah satu Pemerintah yang menjalankan tanggungjawab yang menurut hukum2 Demokrasi, yang menjalankan dasar2 kesempurnaan yang objective dan konkrit, dan untuk membuktikan bahawa Pemerintah Revolusioner Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara tidaklah mempunyai unsur2 anti-British. Di samping itu untuk membuktikan kepada Dunia seluruhnya bahawa Pemerintah Revolusioner Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara bukanlah pemerintah yang akan melanggar hak2 kemanusiaan dan lebih2 lagi dengan Dasar Pemerintah Revolusioner melindungi hak2 kepentingan Inggeris dengan syarat Kerajaan Inggeris dengan serta merta mesti mengakui kedaulatan Pemerintah Revolusioner tidak berniat jahat terhadap Kerajaan dan Rakyat Inggeris, malah kita mencari satu saluran penyelesaian yang harmonis. Sebaliknya jikalau Kerajaan Inggeris mempunyai niat

jahat terhadap Pemerintah Revolusioner dan mengadakan agresi dan bertindak merugikan Pemerintah Revolusioner dan Rakyat Kalimantan Utara, malah kita akan menentang dan akan menghancurkan segala2 hak2 dan kepentingan Inggeris, dan kita akan bertindak tegas untuk menuntut jalan kompromi dengan Inggeris, juga kita tidak akan ragu2 bertindak menyerahkan concession di tangan Inggeris masa ini kepada bangsa dan negara lain yang sudi membantu kita dengan moral dan material demi menegakkan Negara dan Pemerintah Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara. Hal ini Kerajaan Inggeris harus menginsafi sebelum terlambat. Psycho-historis sesuatu pemberontakan Nasional pasti menang. Pemerintah yang mendapat sokongan rakyat tidak akan gagal dalam menempuh perjuangan dan hasrat cita2 rakyat. Dan Rakyat Kalimantan Utara seluruhnya sudah jelas, tidak mahu dijajah lagi biar satu hari pun, dan sebahagian besar Rakyat Kalimantan Utara tegak berdiri di belakang Pemerintah Revolusioner. Jikalau Inggeris bertindak untuk menggempur kita, itu pasti akan menimbulkan marah rakyat secara totalitier, malah bukan hanya akan merugikan Pemerintah Revolusioner dan Rakyat Kalimantan Utara tetapi akan merugikan Inggeris juga. Malah hak2 Inggeris biar satu inci pun tidak akan diakui oleh Pemerintah Revolusioner Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara.

Bila Kerajaan Inggeris menyadari akan faktor2 tersebut dan dengan segera bertindak secara gentle mengakui kedaulatan Pemerintah Revolusioner dan langsung mengadakan perundingan, Inggeris akan dipandang tinggi dan dihormati bukan hanya oleh Pemerintah Revolusioner dan Rakyat Kalimantan Utara bahkan oleh dunia pada umumnya. Dengan tegas Pemerintah Revolusioner akan melindungi tiap2 sen daripada kapital dan kepentingan Inggeris yang ada di seluruh Kalimantan Utara.

Dalam persoalan hak2 individual dan asing lainnya juga akan dilindungi oleh Pemerintah Revolusioner dengan syarat orang2 secara individual dan asing lainnya ikut serta mendukung Pemerintah Revolusioner dan sekurang2nya tidak bekerjasama dengan pihak2 yang bertindak untuk merugikan Pemerintah Revolusioner serta Rakyat Kalimantan Utara. Pemerintah Revolusioner tidak akan ragu2 untuk bertindak tegas terhadap hak2 individual dan asing lainnya apabila menentang dan ikut serta bertindak bagi merugikan Pemerintah Revolusioner dan Rakyat Kalimantan Utara.

## Sosial

Rakyat Kalimantan Utara sudah pun menderita dalam masa kekuasaan Penjajah Inggeris. Kedudukan sosial Rakyat Kalimantan Utara sangat2 terkebelakang dan menyedihkan, terutama hal kedudukan perumahan dan kesihatan adalah begitu rupa buruknya. Maka menjadi kewajiban dari Pemerintah Revolusioner untuk menyelenggarakan satu system sosial yang akan menjamin kesejahteraan Rakyat Kalimantan Utara seluruhnya dengan tidak memandang daerah keturunan dan serta kedudukan dalam masyarakat.

Pemerintah Revolusioner akan membentuk satu Undang2 khas untuk melindungi hak2 kaum Buruh sesuai dengan Kemanusiaan. Kaum Buruh masa ini hanya merupakan alat produksi untuk menyalurkan keuntungan yang tidak terbatas bagi pehak majikan, dan di dalam Pemerintah Kolonial, Pemerintah hanya melindungi hak golongan kaum kapital, tetapi hak kaum Buruh terbiar dalam penderitaan dan penghisapan. Tidak terdapat keseimbangan dalam memperjuangkan hak-haknya kaum Buruh baik melalui organisasi-organisasi Buruh mahupun menjalankan petition. Pehak majikan bebas dan leluasa membikin peraturan dan Undang-Undang bagi menekan pihak kaum buruhnya, dan Pemerintahan Kolonial secara langsung atau tidak langsung melindungi Undang-Undang yang dibuat oleh Pihak Majikan. Dan dengan melalui peraturan dan undang-undang yang dibuat oleh Pihak Majikan tadi, mereka berleluasa menekan dan menghisap kaum Buruhnya. Maka dengan tegasnya Pemerintah Revolusioner yang dicipta oleh rakyat, demi rakyat dan untuk rakyat tidak mesti membiarkan lebih lanjut lagi tertindas dan terhisapnya Kaum Buruh oleh Pihak Majikan. Maka dengan tegas Pemerintah Revolusioner akan bertindak untuk mengimbangkan diantara kepentingan dua golongan.

Kaum Tani dan Nelayan adalah merupakan jumlah yang agak besar sebagai alat hidup dari sebahagian besar penduduk Kalimantan Utara dari semenjak beberapa ratus tahun yang lampau. Tetapi cara pertanian dan perikanan semenjak kuasa penjajah di Kalimantan Utara adalah terbiar dan terorganise dan tidak terdidik, sehingga keadaan pertanian dan perikanan tidak dapat dijalankan secara massa production untuk mencukupi hasrat hidup Rakyat (Self-supporting). Bumi yang terbentang yang berjumlah berjuta-juta heceter hanyalah merupakan hutan-hutan liar yang berjumlah

yang mana hutan-hutan liar dapat digantikan menjadi tanah pertanian yang akan dapat menghasilkan hasil bumi yang dapat menjamin hasrat hidup rakyat, malah dipercayai dengan berlipat-gandanya perghasilan pertanian, kita akan dapat export ke negara2 yang memerlukan hasil bumi kita. Di samping itu bukan hanya hasil bumi akan hidup subur, malah penghidupan Rakyat Kalimantan Utara pada khususnya juga hidup subur, sehat dan productive. Untuk menjayakan pertanian yang meluas, Pemerintah Revolusioner akan memimpin Kaum Tani secara berorganisasi dan menyelenggarakan segala keperluan2 teknis yang begitu rupa, sehingga semangat gotong-royong dan disiplin akan dapat diselenggarakan. Irrigation adalah sangat mustahak bagi kaum Tani, tetapi sampai saat2 ini kita tidak dapat melihat satupun Irrigation yang diselenggarakan oleh pihak Penjajah. Dengan semangat gotong-royong di antara kaum tani dan Pemerintah, kita percaya soal Irrigation ini akan dapat diatasi, dan dengan itu soal perairan bagi kepentingan Kaum Tani akan mencukupi. Soal perikanan sampai saat2 ini masih menggunakan alat2 yang primitive.

Sungguhpun hasil ikan dapat diakui sangat memuaskan, tetapi tidak mencukupi bagi penghidupan Rakyat, dan pendapatan untuk hidup kaum nelayan adalah sangat tidak seimbang. Untuk mengatasi soal ini Pemerintah Revolusioner juga akan mengadakan satu organisasi Perikanan yang dipimpin dan menyelenggarakan alat2 teknik perikanan yang modern.

Keadaan Pemuda dan Pemudi di bawah Pemerintah Kolonial adalah sangat menyedihkan baik dari sudut pelajaran, kesihatan dan activity. Sedangkan harus diakui Pemuda dan Pemudi dari satu Masyarakat bangsa adalah merupakan benteng dan tiang Negara. Putera dan Puteri dari satu bangsa adalah manusia2 yang bertanggungjawab atas mundur dan majunya bangsa itu. Putera dan Puteri dari sesuatu bangsa adalah merupakan semangat dari sesuatu bangsa itu, kalau sesuatu bangsa itu Putera dan Puterinya mempunyai semangat waja maka dengan sendirinya bangsa itu akan tercipta menjadi suatu bangsa yang tahan uji dan bangsa itu pasti akan lekas maju. Tetapi sebaliknya apabila Putera dan Puteri dari sesuatu bangsa itu akan lemah dan dapat diumbang ambingkan dan dengan sendirinya keadaan bangsa itu sendiri dalam kucar kacir. Maka dari itu Pemerintah Revolusioner akan mengadakan satu pimpinan yang berorganisasi dan berdisiplin sehingga akan tercipta

satu massa pemuda dan pemuda yang sehat, active dan maju dalam segala lapangan. Dan dengan itu pemuda dan pemuda akan hidup menurut keperibadian bangsa dan akan tetap terdiri sebagai benteng negara yang berbentuk waja.

Pemerintah Revolusioner akan berusaha membentuk satu system Pelajaran Nasional yang tersusun dan dipimpin. Dunia mengetahui akan politik Penjajahan menekan dan mengumbangi-pelajaran rakyat yang dijajahnya, dan penjajah sangat gembira sekali apabila keadaan masyarakat yang dijajahnya bodoh dan kucar kacir. Malah dengan tidak ragu2 pula kaum penjajah menjalankan politik divide et empera-nya dengan disalurkan melalui sekolah2 dan system pelajaran diperketat begitu rupa oleh politik penjajahan sehingga keadaan pelajaran Rakyat Kalimantan Utara tidak mempunyai kemajuan dan sangat menyedihkan. Maka system pelajaran Kolonial harus dilenyapkan secepat mungkin, dan untuk itu Pemerintah Revolusioner akan membentuk satu komisi yang akan menyelenggarakan satu system Pelajaran Nasional yang sesuai dengan keadaan Dunia yang modern. Bagaimana satu pepatah mengatakan, “Besarnya majunya sesuatu bangsa bukan terletak pada luasnya kekuasaan dan daerah atau terletak kepada besarnya jumlah penduduknya, tetapi adalah kepada tinggi dan rendahnya pelajaran dari sesuatu bangsa itu sendiri.”

Buta huruf adalah merupakan produksi yang diinjeksikan oleh penjajah yang paling berbahaya, dan tiap-tiap negara yang dijajah dengan sendirinya jumlah buta huruf sangat besar. Begitu juga jumlah buta huruf yang terdapat dalam masyarakat Rakyat Kalimantan Utara tidaklah kecil. Maka untuk membentuk satu masyarakat yang maju, berkeperibadian, sehat dan productive, Pemerintah Revolusioner akan membentuk satu badan khas Pemerintah Buta Huruf dari kalangan Masyarakat Rakyat Kalimantan. Utara seluruhnya. Produksi berbahaya yang diinjeksikan oleh penjajah itu harus kita berantas habis2an sehingga dalam masa sepuluh tahun kita akan dapat merubah segala puing2 pengaruh penjajahan yang berbahaya yang masih bermaharaja lela di negara kita.

Pemerintah Revolusioner akan melindungi segala Bahasa2 kaum Kebudayaan Khas untuk menyelidiki dan menyusun rangka di mana Kebudayaan Nasional akan dibentuk dan dijadikan dasar Negara. Kebudayaan adalah merupakan keperibadian dari suatu masyarakat

dalam sesuatu bangsa. Kebudayaan juga adalah satu cabang dari kemajuan sesuatu bangsa, malah kebudayaan adalah juga merupakan satu kebanggaan sesuatu bangsa. Tingginya kebudayaan sesuatu Bangsa maka luhurlah keperibadian sesuatu Bangsa itu. Maka selama penjajahan, penjajah selalu berikhtiar untuk menenyapkan kebudayaan kita, kerana penjajah tidak suka melihat masyarakat sesuatu bangsa yang dijajahnya itu memegang satu dasar yang merupakan kebanggaan bangsa. Dan penjajah tidak suka sesuatu masyarakat dari sesuatu bangsa itu. Sehingga masa ini Kebudayaan kita beransur2 lenyap yang mungkin jikalau kita lagi terlambat bertindak kita langsung tidak akan mempunyai Kebudayaan Nasional dan akan diganti oleh Kebudayaan yang dibawa oleh penjajah dari barat.

Tetapi syukurlah Suku2 dari Bangsa kita maseh dapat mempertahankan sedikit sebanyak unsur2 Kebudayaan kita. Maka dengan itu Pemerintah Revolusioner akan membentuk satu komisi khas yang akan dianggotai oleh tiap2 suku dengan tujuan menyelidiki dan akhirnya membentuk satu Kebudayaan Nasional yang akan meliputi dan dicipta dari seluruh lapisan masyarakat dan akan menjadi dasar negara, kebanggaan bangsa dan sebagai bukti keluhuran peribadi Rakyat Kalimantan Utara.

Pemerintah Revolusioner akan berusaha membentuk satu Badan yang terdapat diseluruh Kalimantan Utara. Bahasa Nasional adalah merupakan Bahasa Kesatuan yang menjadi perantara dari satu golongan masyarakat yang besar. Maka kita memilih Bahasa Nasional dan Bahasa Kesatuan kita ialah Bahasa Melayu, sebab kita memilih Bahasa Melayu menjadi Bahasa kita itu ialah sebabnya Bahasa yang paling terbesar pengaruhnya di Nusantara kita ini, umpamanya Bahasa Kesatuan Nasional Indonesia ialah Bahasa Melayu dengan digelarlah Bahasa Indonesia. Dalam pengertian yang luas Bahasa Indonesia dan Bahasa Melayu adalah dari satu pokok.

Begitu juga di Malaya dan Singapura Bahasa Melayu adalah menjadi Bahasa Resmi di samping menjadi Bahasa Nasional. Kita akui di Kalimantan Utara banyak Bahasa puak2 tetapi di Indonesia Bahasa puak2 lebeh banyak jumlahnya kalau dibandingkan dengan yang ada di Kalimantan Utara. Jikalau di Indonesia dapat mencipta satu Bahasa Nasional iaitu Bahasa Indonesia dan melindungi Bahasa2 puak yang ada, maka kita di Kalimantan Utara juga tidak harus ragu2 untuk mencipta satu Bahasa Nasional, di samping itu

kita melindungi Bahasa2 puak yang terdapat di seluruh Kalimantan Utara. Maka di sini sudah tegas dengan terbentuknya Bahasa Melayu menjadi Bahasa Nasional bukanlah berarti satu perkosaan terhadap hak2 Bahasa puak2 yang ada. Maka kita harus berbangga, di atas Bahasa puak2 itu kita dapat mencipta satu Bahasa Nasional yang menuju ke arah satu cita2 yang besar untuk mendirikan satu Negara Kesatuan, satu Bahasa dan satu Bangsa dari seluruh Nusantara kita ini.

Pemerintah melindungi hak2 sosial, pelajaran dan kebudayaan kaum minority. Tiap2 manusia mempunyai hak yang sama dengan manusia2 lain baik hak politik, ekonomi, sosial, pelajaran dan kebudayaan. Dari satu masyarakat yang besar jumlahnya akan mengandung golongan2 yang besar dan kecil, bukan hanya menjadi kewajiban untuk melindungi hak2 dari golongan yang besar malah juga harus melindungi hak2 golongan yang kecil dan perseorangan. dengan dasar menuju kepada keadilan dan kemanusiaan maka Pemerintah Revolusioner melindungi dan menjamin hak2 kaum minority baik sosial, pelajaran dan lain2nya.

## **GARIS-GARIS BESAR POLITIK, EKONOMI DAN SOSIAL**

Untuk menjalankan tanggung jawab Pemerintah Revolusioner Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara, maka dengan ini satu programme Pemerintah diumumkan keseluruh Rakyat Kalimantan Utara dan kepada seluruh Dunia.

### **a) POLITIK:**

#### **DALAM NEGERI**

1. Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara diproklamirkan atas dasar tuntutan sebahagian besar dari Rakyat Kalimantan Utara.
2. Pemerintah Revolusioner membentuk satu Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara berdasarkan atas Undang2 Dasar Sementara Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara.
3. Pemerintah Revolusioner mengangkat Sri Baginda Maulana Sultan Brunei sebagai kepala Negara yang bergelar Sri Mahkota Negara Kalimantan Utara.
4. Pemerintah Revolusioner untuk sementara mengangkat anggota2 Dewan Perwakilan dan menunjuk wakil2 Daerah serta mengesahkan anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah



Sementara yang akan membantu dan menjalankan Pemerintah Daerah.

5. Pemerintah Revolusioner membentuk satu komisi pembahagian Daerah besar dan kecil dan akan mengangkat beberapa orang Gubernur dan Resident sebagai Kepala Pemerintah Propinsi dan keresidenan.
6. Pemerintah Revolusioner akan menyempurnakan susunan Angkatan Perang Darat, Laut dan Udara dan Kepolisian Negara dan melengkapi alat2 persenjataan.
7. Pemerintah melindungi hak2 politik kaum minority.

#### **LUAR NEGERI:**

1. Pemerintah Revolusioner akan mengadakan perhubungan persahabatan dengan semua bangsa2 di dunia terutama sekali dengan Negara2 Asia-Afrika atas dasar hormat menghormati dan atas dasar kerjasama yang objective dan positive.
2. Pemerintah Revolusioner akan menjalankan politik Luar Negeri yang Neutral dan Active.
3. Pemerintah Revolusioner berusaha untuk menjadi anggota Persyarikatan Bangsa2.
4. Pemerintah Revolusioner bersedia untuk mengadakan perundingan dengan kerajaan Inggeris buat mencari penyelesaian dan kerjasama atas dasar hormat menghormati dan tidak merugikan kepentingan Nasional Rakyat Kalimantan Utara.
5. Pemerintah Revolusioner bersedia menerima segala bantuan moral dan material dari segala bangsa terutama dari Negara2 Asia Afrika yang tidak mengikat.

#### **b) EKONOMI:**

1. Pemerintah Revolusioner akan menjalankan satu dasar ekonomi Nasional yang tersusun rapi dan terpinpin.
2. Pemerintah Revolusioner melindungi hak2 dan kepentingan Inggeris serta bangsa asing lainnya yang tidak merugikan kepentingan Nasional Rakyat Kalimantan Utara dengan syarat Kerajaan Inggeris dengan serta merta mengakui kedaulatan Pemerintah Revolusioner Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara.
3. Hak2 individual dilindungi oleh Pemerintah.

#### **c) SOSIAL:**

1. Pemerintah Revolusioner akan menjalankan satu usaha sosial

yang sehat dan dipimpin untuk kesejahteraan Rakyat.

2. Pemerintah Revolusioner akan membentuk satu Undang2 Khas untuk melindungi hak2 Kaum Buruh sesuai dengan dasar Kemanusiaan.
3. Pemerintah Revolusioner akan membentuk satu Undang2 Khas untuk melindungi Kaum Tani dan Kaum Nelayan, dan menyusun serta memimpin pertanian dan perikanan secara modern dan productive.
4. Pemerintah Revolusioner akan membentuk satu Undang2 Khas dalam hal ehwal KePemudaan (Putera-Puteri), supaya tercipta satu masyarakat KePemudaan yang sehat, rajin dan bertanggung jawab.
5. Pemerintah Revolusioner akan berusaha membentuk satu system Pelajaran Nasional yang tersusun dan dipimpin.
6. Pemerintah Revolusioner akan berusaha mengadakan Pemberantasan Buta Huruf yang selama ini merupakan penyakit berbahaya pada masyarakat.
7. Pemerintah Revolusioner akan berusaha membentuk satu Badan Kebudayaan Khas untuk menyelidiki dan menyusun satu rangka di mana Kebudayaan Nasional akan dibentuk dan dijadikan dasar Negara.
8. Pemerintah Revolusioner melindungi segala Bahasa2 Kaum yang terdapat di seluruh Kalimantan Utara.
9. Pemerintah Revolusioner melindungi hak2 sosial, pelajaran dan Kebudayaan kaum minority.

## **PENUTUP:**

Maka dengan ini lahirlah Manifesto Politik (Programme Kerja) Pemerintah Revolusioner untuk menjadi pedoman Pemerintah dan Rakyat Kalimantan Utara seluruhnya. Di sini dapat dimengertikan oleh seluruh lapisan Rakyat baginda tanggung jawab Pemerintah Revolusioner untuk menyalurkan dan menyelenggarakan cita2 Revolusi Nasional kita yang dicipta oleh Rakyat, demi Rakyat dan untuk Rakyat. Berdoalah kita seluruhnya kepada Tuhan yang Maha Esa semoga cita2 Revolusi kita yang suci dan luhur ini akan dapat kita laksanakan dengan berkat kerjasama di antara pemerintah dan Rakyat dengan semangat gotong-royong, dengan semangat kejujuran dan dengan semangat waja pencipta.

Sebahagian dari isi Manifesto Politik ini dicipta atas dasar Amanat Penderitaan Rakyat, maka adalah menjadi kewajiban dari seluruh

alat2 pemerintah, kaum intelektual dan Rakyat seluruhnya untuk bersama2 bekerja dan bekerja bahu-membahu dengan semangat yang tidak kenal lelah dan semangat persatuan yang kukuh dengan tidak kenal mengeluh dan menyerah. Rakyat seluruhnya, bukalah matamu, bukalah hatimu, bukalah jiwaramu, padamkanlah sedalam2nya ditiap2 hatimu, jiwaramu akan semangat Revolusi, jangan sampai Revolusi kita ini diselewengkan oleh siapa juga atau oleh pihak mana pun juga. Dengan demikian Amanat Penderitaan Rakyat akan dapat kita cipta bersama, dan dengan itu akan terujudlah satu masyarakat yang Adil dan Makmur sesuai dengan Undang-Undang Dasar Sementara Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara.

**RESOLUTION ON NORTH KALIMANTAN ADOPTED  
BY THE THIRD AFRO-ASIAN PEOPLES'  
SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE  
IN MOSHI, FEBRUARY 4-11, 1963**

The Third Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference meeting in the Tanganyika town of Moshi from February 4-11, 1963 fervently greets the delegates of fighting North Kalimantan people and expresses full support for the just struggle of the North Kalimantan people against the neo-colonialists.

This conference, appeals to Afro-Asian governments and peoples in general to render their full support to the struggle of the people of North Kalimantan against any federation which is now being intensively imposed by the imperialists in cooperation with their agents and to recognize the newly proclaimed full independent Unitary State of North Kalimantan.

We appeal to, and urge all freedom loving peoples of the world to take definite measures to oppose the reactionary actions of the British Government in sending armed troops to fight and repress the struggle for full independence of the people of North Kalimantan.

**RESOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL YOUTH  
SOLIDARITY MEETING**

For North Kalimantan and Crushing Neo Colonialist project "Malaysia" held in Djakarta, Capital of the Republic of Indonesia from 23rd to 26th January 1964 (attended by delegates of 43 States from five continents of the world, with the decision as follows):

1. Fully support struggle of Youth and the People of Kalimantan Utara in their fighting against the British military pressure and in defending their National Freedom.
2. Condemn the imperialist project "Malaysia", and condemn their cruel action against patriotic activities, and claim intermediate liberation of all patriots imprisoned.
3. Condemn the U.S. and the British imperialist in using "Malaysia" as a tool to carry out their aggressive motives to besiege Indonesia, as it threatens peace in South East Asia and in

the World.

4. Support the just struggle of Youth and the Peoples of Indonesia Malaya, Singapore and Kalimantan Utara to crush Malaysia.
5. Claim the immediate withdrawal of the British army from Kalimantan Utara.
6. Request the Youth, Students and Peoples of New Emerging Forces (NEFOS) in the world to give their great solidarity by means of helping the youth and peoples in those mentioned territories.
7. Request all organization participation and supporting this meeting to carry out the Program decided by International Youth Solidarity Meeting for Kalimantan Utara National Freedom and for crushing the Neo-Colonialist Project "Malaysia."

Onward no retreat.

**Djakarta, January 26th, 1964.**

## **RESOLUTION ON NORTH KALIMANTAN**

**Adopted by the Fourth Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference convened in Winneba, Ghana, From May 9 to 16, 1965.**

Confirming the resolutions on North Kalimantan of the 3rd Conference in Moshi, Tanganyika, 4th Executive Committee Meeting at Nicosia, September 10 — 12th. 1963, 4th Session of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council in Algiers, March 22-27, 1964, and the recent statements issued by the Premanent Secretariat, hereby:

- 1) Strongly condemns British colonialist product supported by U.S. imperialism — "Malaysia", and the attempts of certain countries to slip "Malaysia" into the A.A.P.S.O. and other Afro-Asian bodies, calls upon all member organisations to urge their respective Governments to recognize and support the Revolutionary Government of the Unitary State of North Kalimantan as the sole and rightful representative to speak for the peoples of North Kalimantan.

- 2) Appeals to all member organizations to take concrete actions to oppose the imperialist action of Britain and its allies in sending armed forces to North Kalimantan to suppress the struggle of the North Kalimantan people for complete national independence, in accordance with the resolutions on North Kalimantan of the 3rd Conference of the A.A.P.S.O held in Moshi, . Tanganyika.
- 3) Calls on all member organizations to, or through them, urge their respective Governments to take concrete measures to provide military and financial support to the peoples of North Kalimantan in accordance with the Political Resolutions of the 3rd A.A.P.S.O. Conference, and the decisions of the Afro-Asian Economic Seminar held in Algiers.
- 4) Strongly condemns the British — U.S. neo-colonialist project of “Malaysia” and demands the British imperialists to withdraw their aggressive colonialist troops from North Kalimantan, release all patriotic peoples’ Leaders, leave the people of North Kalimantan to settle themselves their own internal affairs and recognize the Revolutionary of the Unitary State of North Kalimantan.
- 5) Strongly supports the Indonesian people in their struggle to help the peoples of North Kalimantan and Malaya in armed struggle to free themselves from the imperialist domination of Anglo-American and their lackeys of the so-called “Federation of Malaysia” and achieve their genuine national independence and democracy.

## **Petition submitted by the opposition Parties of Malaya.**

To His Excellency  
The Secretary-General,  
United Nations,  
from Kuala Lumpur

In submitting this Memorandum to you, Sir, the entire Opposition Parties in the Federation of Malaya comprising of Inche Abdul Aziz bin Ishak, an independent, Pan-Malayan Islamic Party, Labour Party, Party Rakyat, People's Progressive Party, Party Negara and the United Democratic Party, who polled 49% of the votes cast in the General Election of 1959 desire to draw the attention of the Security Council of the United Nations to the grave dangers to the stability and peace of the South-East Asian Region that is being engendered by the formation of Malaysia. The very serious international situation which is building up in South-East Asia as a result of the present attempt arbitrarily to include the Borneo territories and Singapore in the Federation of Malaysia calls for very serious consideration and prompt action by the United Nations if the present tense international situation is not to be allowed to deteriorate and get out of hand.

We are of the view that the very arbitrary manner in which the Alliance Government in attempting to impose the formation of Malaysia will bring the whole of Asia, and indeed the world, to the brink of open conflict.

Our stand was declared in a public statement dated 10th March, 1963 reading as follows:

1) The Opposition Parties of Malaya hereby unanimously oppose and strongly deplore the manner and methods employed by the Alliance in dealing with the concept of Malaysia thereby precipitating not only an armed uprising in Brunei and Sarawak but also a crisis in its relationship with its hitherto friendly neighbours. The Opposition Parties unanimously stand for a Malaysia brought about by the free consent and goodwill of the peoples of all the territories concerned.

2) The Opposition Parties of Malaya also hereby unanimously and jointly declare that no weight should be place on the Lansdowne Report which was drawn up by persons who were not truly and properly representative of the wishes of the people and had no

mandate from the peoples of the territories concerned to deal with the formation of Malaysia.

3) The Opposition Parties of Malaya hereby unanimously and jointly call upon the Alliance Government not to form any Malaysia until either:

- a) the peoples of North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak are able to be represented by a fully elected Government or
- b) a free and proper referendum on the question of Malaysia is held.

Bearing in mind that United Nations confines itself to the relationship between nations, we shall in this Memorandum deal with only the following aspects of Malaysia that threaten the peace between the nations of this area and affect the right of self-determination of colonial peoples:

- 1) The right of self-determination of the Bornean States and Singapore.
- 2) The effect on the peace and stability in South-East Asia as reflected in the attitudes of the various countries in the region.

**The right of self-determination of the peoples of the Bornean States and Singapore:**

It is well-known that the State of Brunei at the outset of the proposal to form Malaysia was opposed to the idea and was unwilling to participate in any such federation.

This is conclusive when one considers that the 1962 elections in Brunei were fought on a platform which called for the rejection of the concept of Malaysia by Brunei and the Brunei Peoples Party was returned with an overwhelming majority, all but one of their candidates being successful!

In Brunei the obvious desire of the British and Alliance Governments to push through the formation of Malaysia irrespective of the will of the people and the deprivation of the opportunity of the elected representatives of the people to discuss the matter in its



semi-elected legislative council by the postponement of its meeting scheduled to be held on 5th December, 1962 was followed by a resort to violence and force of arms in an attempt to frustrate the formation of Malaysia. We should appreciate the causes of this desperate action and profit by the lesson that it imparts.

In the Borneo States of Sarawak and North Borneo there were similar fears as to the implications of the concept of Malaysia and there was an obvious reluctance on the part of the Chinese who hold a strong economic position in these two states and on the part of the indigenous peoples who resented the idea of a transfer of powers from the British to a new Malaysian State instead of directly to themselves.

In such a state of affairs the Alliance Government of the Federation of Malaya set out to woo the three Bornean states and to try persuade them to accept the idea of combining with the Federation of Malaya and forming one Federation.

The first meeting of the delegates from the various Bornean States and Singapore and the members of the Alliance Government showed clearly that there was opposition from the Bornean states and that there was considerable uneasiness and unwillingness to accept the formation of a Malaysian nation without first being able to ensure a right to govern themselves and only thereafter to examine any proposals for the formation of Malaysia. It was also clear that there were a few persons in the Bornean territories who were anxious to aid the schemes of the Alliance Government for a Malaysia and rush through its formation so as to establish themselves as the leaders in the new states of Borneo and Sarawak without having to go through the test of an election on a state level.

Further evidence of premeditated denial of the right of self determination to the peoples of the Bornean States is the agreed proposal not to hold any state and parliamentary elections for up to five years.

The attitude of the Alliance Government that it can and will impose with the aid of the British Government the formation of a Federation of Malaysia on the peoples of Borneo, Singapore and the Federation of Malaya could only lead to the events that have subsequently followed. The rather vocal opposition of the Barisan Socialist and other parties in Singapore was overcome by an astutely drawn up

referendum which was more dishonest than a real test of the reactions of the people to the merger of Singapore with the Federation of Malaya. It allowed no choice for the peoples of Singapore to say that they wished to become a separate independent state rather than join a new Federation of States. The attempts of the parties in Singapore opposing Malaysia to seek an opportunity to present their views and to attempt to bring world opinion to bear on the Government of Singapore only brought about further repressive measures in the form of the detention of Opposition leaders under the Prevention of Public Security Ordinance.

Contrary to the deceitful claim by the Alliance and British Governments that their scheme of Malaysia would bring self-government and independence to the Borneo territories and Singapore, the formation of Malaysia was in fact designed to frustrate and bring into contempt the historic United Nations resolution on the granting of independence to colonial territories.

### **The effect on the peace and stability in South-East Asia as reflected in the attitudes of the various countries in the region:**

Although the formation of Malaysia has been proudly and loudly heralded by the Alliance Government as a bastion against communism, it turned out to be a provocation to which the communist world swiftly reacted.

The formation of Malaysia ostensibly expressed as a move to create a large economic unit to promote the material welfare and prosperity of the areas concerned developed into a move openly inimical to a group of neighbouring states there by provoking grave tensions and repercussions.

The Alliance Government has up to now approached the question of Malaysia solely as a pet object to which having once committed itself, it will carry on to the bitter end regardless of the consequences to the rest of the world. Its blustering braggadocio has brought prompt reaction from Indonesia and the Philippines though each for different reasons. Both Indonesia and the Philippines have accused the Federation of Malaysia of being of neo-colonialism.

The aiding and abetting of the British Government for such a scheme for Malaysia to be formed and pushed through regardless of

the goodwill and the consent of the peoples of Borneo have further given support to accusations that in the liquidation of the British empire they are handing over the Borneo territories for annexation by the Federation of Malaya.

The antagonism which the scheme for Malaysia has aroused in the Philippines and Indonesia is now threatening the peace and stability of the whole region.

The formation of Malaysia in the context of the developments in the situation in South-East Asia therefore calls for great caution and restraint. It is by itself a concept that probably an association of the states of South-East Asia in closer co-operation with each other would bring about great economic benefits and much prosperity, but the implementation of the concept must not be carried out or allowed to be carried out in such a way as to create in South-East Asia or indeed in any area a focal point for the conflict of opposing ideologies and power camps, thus building up great tensions which may explode and trigger off a chain of incidents leading inevitably to war and strife.

The Opposition Parties therefore in opposing the present measures to force through the formation of Malaysia by August 21st 1963 do not do so because they are against the concept of a Federation of South-East Asian States. But they do so because they stand for the ideal that any move which affects the lives and the status of the peoples of any country should be effected by the goodwill and consent of all concerned. They stand moreover for the easing of world tensions, for the preservation of peace and stability and for the goodwill of nations working together for the prosperity and welfare of the human race.

The Opposition Parties in standing for these ideals therefore urge the Security Council to take such action as may be necessary to forestall the development of an explosive situation in South-East Asia which threatens the peace and security of the world.

The Opposition Parties therefore; call for:

- 1) a postponement of the formation of any Malaysia so that the stresses and strains created so far may be eased and emotions allowed to cool down, measures and plans may be reviewed and re-evaluated

and a new outlook formed; and

2) the ascertainment by democratic process of the wishes of the people with regard to the formation of Malaysia i.e. by holding in the territories of Brunei, Sarawak and North Borneo either;

- a) free state-wide elections on a platform of whether Malaysia should be formed or not; or
- b) a plebiscite or referendum on the question of Malaysia.

If the security council should adopt the suggestion that an election or plebiscite or referendum be held, then in view of the deplorable state of affairs in the Bornean States, the widespread arrest of opponents of Malaysia, the ban on publications, the manner the Singapore Referendum was conducted and the commitment of the British Government to the early formation of Malaysia, we further submit that such election, plebiscite or referendum should be held under the supervision and control of the United Nations so that fair and honest assessment of the wishes of the people of the states concerned may be obtained.

Dated this 26th day of April, 1963.

- |                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Abdul Aziz bin Ishak             | Independent                                    |
| 2. S.P.Seenivasagam                 | Vice-President,<br>People's Progressive Party. |
| 3. Dr. Burhanuddin bin Mohd. Noor   | President,<br>Pan Malayan Islamic Party.       |
| 4. Dato Zainal Abidin bin Haji Abas | President,<br>United Democratic Party.         |
| 5. Baba bin Ludek                   | President,<br>Party Negara.                    |
| 6. Nazar Nong                       | Vice-President,<br>People's Party of Malaya    |
| 7. Ishak bin Haji Muhammad          | Chairman,<br>Labour Party of Malaya.           |
|                                     | (signed by Dr. M.K.<br>Rajakumar).             |

Lawrence H.C. Huang,  
Hon. Secretary,  
Co-Joining Opposition Group,  
35, (First Floor) Pudu Street, Kuala Lumpur.

GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY

distr.  
GENERAL  
A/AC. 109/PET. 128  
17 May 1963

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

**SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH  
REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE  
DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF  
INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES  
AND PEOPLES.**

**PETITION FROM MR. KASSIM AHMAD CONCERNING  
BRUNEI, NORTH BORNEO, SARAWAK AND SINGAPORE**

(Circulated in accordance with the decision taken by the  
Sub-Committee on Petition at its 36th meeting on 9 Mei 1963).

c/o School of Oriental and  
African Studies  
University of London. W.C.I.  
22nd March, 1963.

The Chairman of the Committee  
on Colonialism, U.N.  
United Nations  
New York.

Dear Sir,

Enclosed herewith is a copy of the Memorandum sent to the  
Secretary General of the United Nations on the 22nd March, 1963 on  
the question of the proposed Federation of Malaysia. It is signed by  
members of the ad-hoc committee appointed for the purpose, who  
are citizens of the Federation of Malaya and Singapore. On their  
behalf, I forward this copy to you for your information and record.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) Kassim AHMAD  
on behalf of the ad-hoc committee

63-11775

# MEMORANDUM TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS ON THE THREAT TO PEACE IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA.

## Preamble

We, the undersigned, citizens of the Federation of Malaya and Singapore, now resident in the United Kingdom as students and working-men having regard to

- (1) The commitment of the United Nations by its Charter to maintain international peace and security, and
- (2) The United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and People adopted on the 14th December, 1960.

And fully believing in the ability and competence of the United Nations to take such steps as deemed necessary to uphold and carry out the said commitments.

Have resolved to draw the attention of this august Assembly through Your Excellency, its most esteemed Secretary-General, to the serious situation developing in South-East Asia arising directly from the proposed Federation of Malaysia and the consequent uprisings in Brunei and the adjacent territories of Sarawak and North Borneo. To this end we have drawn up and agreed upon this Memorandum and do hereby present this petition to you for consideration by the United Nations.

## Introduction

We view with the greatest alarm and concern the growing tension developing around the territories of our homelands, especially the rapid deterioration of good-neighbourly relations between Malaya and Indonesia. We fully share your view as reflected in your Statement to the Press published on the 31st January, 1963 that "the situation in South-East Asia, particularly in the area surrounding

Brunei, has potentialities of becoming very serious". It is fear that this situation may develop into an international crisis endangering peace and security in the area of our own beloved countries that has urged us to take this course of action.

## **Colonialism**

While we submit to you that this threat to peace and security has been brought about directly by the proposed Federation of Malaysia, we resolutely maintain that the ever-present source of danger to international peace is the continued existence of colonialism. The newly independent countries of Asia and Africa know only too well what colonialism is and their uncompromising stand against this international evil had been resoundingly declared at the historic Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung in April, 1955. This awareness of the danger to international peace posed by a system of exploitation of nation by nation has been recognised by the United Nations itself when on the 14th December 1960 it adopted that great humanistic document, The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

## **The Malaysian Scheme**

The Government of the United Kingdom, rightly recognising the just aspirations to freedom of its dependent territories and the inevitable march of history has of late agreed, with the concurrence of the Government of the Federation of Malaya, to the transfer of full sovereignty to the colonial territories of North Borneo and Sarawak, to the semi-colonial territory of Singapore and to the protected Sultanate of Brunei through the proposed Federation of Malaysia, comprising the said territories and the independent Federation of Malaya. As responsible citizens of the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak, we welcome this desire to grant the peoples of these territories their freedom. This desire is not only consistent with the aforementioned declarations of the Bandung Conference and the United Nations, but, if genuinely carried out, would remove a potential source of danger to peace and security in South-East Asia and in the world generally. Unfortunately, as recent events have shown and as Your Excellency has correctly pointed out in the statement to the Press already referred to, the situation, far from taking a turn for the better, is becoming fraught with danger. We

submit to you that this danger immediately arises from two aspects of the proposal of Malaysia, namely (a) that it is being implemented undemocratically without due regard to the just aspirations of the peoples concerned, and (b) it is based on military considerations, which should in effect invalidate the aims of independence and immediately aggravate cold war issues.

### **The Cobbold Commision and Singapore Referendum**

The proposal to establish a “Federation of Malaysia” was jointly announced by the Government of the United Kingdom and the Federation of Malaya on the 22nd November, 1961. At this meeting in London between Ministers of the two Governments, it was agreed to set up a Commission of Enquiry, comprising representatives of the two Governments, in order “to ascertain the views of the peoples of North Borneo and Sarawak” on the matter (see Appendix I). This Commision, subsequently known as the Cobbold Commision, was announced by the two Governments on the 16th January, 1962. Its findings and recommendations, favouring the proposed Federation, were set out in a report published in August. 1962. The Government of the semi-independent State of Singapore declared its support for the Malaysian plan on the 30th January, 1962. and further held a form of referendum on the 1st September, 1962, the outcome of which showed a majority of its people in favour of joining the proposed Federation (see Appendix 2). The decision by Brunei was left to the Sultan, who, when addressing the State’s nominated Legislative Council on 5th December, 1961, expressed general support for the concept.

The above background account shows the initiatives mainly by the colonial power of these territories represented by the British Government and by the Government of the Federation of Malaya on the proposed Federation. The decisive factor is surely the consent of these peoples whose fates it is that are being decided. For us the crucial question is, therefore, not what the Report of the Cobbold Commission says or what the results of the Singapore Referendum show; the crucial question is whether or not the said Report and the said Referendum truly reflect the views and feelings of the peoples of the territories involved in the Malaysian scheme.

We do not consider ourselves competent to pass judgement on the findings of the Cobbold Commission. But we do resolutely maintain,



without the slightest fear of contradiction, that the Cobbold Commission was a partial body representing interested parties (the Governments of the United Kingdom and the Federation of Malaya) in the issue of the proposed Federation. It is our opinion, therefore, that the Cobbold Report, by virtue of that facts, is a biased report and cannot be accepted as a genuine reflection of the desires of the peoples of North Borneo and Sarawak. The same can be said of the Singapore Referendum. Clearly the Referendum was a one-sided referendum and a piece of political trickery. Its terms of reference (see Appendix 2) had not afforded the people of Singapore with the choice of rejecting the proposed Federation if they had so desired. Its results are, on that score, misleading and can on no account be interpreted as reflecting majority opinion in favour of the scheme.

### **The Brunei Uprising**

In Brunei the issue of the proposed Federation has taken an unexpected turn which highlights the nature of the scheme. Constitutionally Brunei is a sovereign British-protected Sultanate, much as the individual states within the Federation of Malaya were before the proclamation of Malayan Independence on the 31st August, 1957. However, the actual fact is that, ever since 1906, effective state control has passed into the hands of the British colonial power: up to 1948, through the instrumentation of a British Resident, after 1948, through a British High Commissioner. In reality, therefore, Brunei is as much a dependency as its other two sister territories, and the Sultan is, by treaty, a mere figurehead.

In 1956, under the leadership of Sheikh A.M. Azahari, the majority of the people of Brunei organised themselves into a political party called the Partai Rakyat Brunei (Brunei People's Party). The main aims of the party were immediate constitutional advance, eventual independence within the framework of a constitutional monarchy, and integration with North Borneo and Sarawak in a "Federation of Kalimantan Utara." In September, 1959, the State's first written Constitution was introduced which provided for a semi-elected Legislative Council comprising sixteen elected and seventeen nominated members. In the subsequent elections held in August, 1962, the Partai Rakyat won all the sixteen elected seats in the Legislature. This gave the party unquestionable authority to speak in the name of the people of Brunei. The Party's attitude towards the proposed scheme is underlined by its programmes, first, of winning

independence for Brunei and, second, of seeking integration in a wider unit in a "Federation of North Borneo". To express their views on this question directly, the people's representatives gave notice that they would table a motion rejecting the proposed Federation of Malaysia for Brunei at the first scheduled meeting of the new Legislative Council, due to take place on the 5th December, 1962. Unfortunately, however, the Sultan, acting presumably on the advice (which under treaty obligations he must ask and act upon) of the British High Commissioner, postponed this scheduled meeting of Brunei's first semi-elected Legislative Council. Two days later on the 7th December, 1962, the world heard and read of widespread uprising that had broken out in Brunei and the adjacent territories of Sarawak and North Borneo and the Sheikh A.M. Azahari's proclamation of his Revolutionary Government of Kalimantan Utara. We know today that these uprising, whose popular character we believe to be beyond doubt, had been summarily suppressed by British troops stationed in Singapore, aided and abetted by the Federation of Malaya Jungle Squads.

### **Policy of Repression**

We believe that the significance of the Brunei uprising is clear to all impartial observers. The people of Brunei, arbitrarily deprived of all constitutional means, had expressed their will in no uncertain terms, albeit in violence. We are no moralists to denigrate the violent method used by the Brunei people under provocation. The choice of weapons, as the facts show, was dictated by the anti-democratic behaviour of the colonial power and, as such, the responsibility for bloodshed must be placed squarely on its shoulders. We hold the Brunei people's desire for self-determination as sacred and we consider the support given to it by the Indonesian and Philippines Governments and by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference held at Moshi on the 4th February, 1963, as consistent with the United Nations Charter, with the Bandung Conference Communique and with the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and as fully justified. Yet this Brunei event had not brought enlightened thoughts to the Government of the United Kingdom, the Federalation of Malaya and the semi-independent State of Singapore. They had not seen fit to take a second look at their plan; they are in fact intensifying their policies of repression in their several territories. In Brunei, instead of heeding the call for negotiations by Sheikh A.M. Azahari, the leader of the Brunei People's Party, the

colonial authorities have banned the party and issued a warrant of arrest for its leader. In Singapore on the 2nd February, 1963, a total number of 116 political leaders, party organisers, students and trade-unionists opposed to the scheme were rounded up and detained. Ten political as well as non-political weeklies and journals have been banned outright and pressure has been brought to bear on printers of other publications considered "undersirable" by the authorities. In the Federation of Malaya, the Chairman of the Partai Rakyat Malaya (Malayan People's Party), a member of the House of Representatives, Ahmad Boestamam, was arrested and detained on the 13th February, 1963.

We believe that this policy of repression is deliberately aimed at crippling all effective opposition to the Malaysia scheme. It is also meant to intimidate. All the political parties opposed to the scheme, be they in Malaya, or in Singapore, or in the Borneo territories, have, without exception, suffered from this policy of repression in one way or another. We deplore most strongly these repressive actions taken against citizens of these territories and we do not accept the official explanation that these actions are "necessary in the interest of State security". If the Governments concerned have evidence against those they have arrested, then they should bring them to open trial. We fear that if the Governments concerned continue their policies of repression there will be grave and violent repercussions.

### **Neo-colonialism?**

At this juncture, we would like to pose the question: Why do the Governments of the United Kingdom and the Federation of Malaya have to resort to repressive measures to push through their proposed Federation of Malaysia? Have they lost faith in the democratic process? Are they afraid that the decision the people may turn against them if they allow the peoples concerned to make their own free choice as regards destinies? Are the critics of "Malaysia" right after all when they claim that this concept of 'freedom through Malaysia' is a myth and that it is actually a neo-colonist concept? We do not wish to set ourselves up as arbiters of the deeper motives of the two Governments in proposing this scheme. It has been freely admitted on both sides, even prior to this repressive policy, both in public statements in written documents, that the overriding political consideration behind the proposed Federation is not so much the welfare of the peoples concerned as the alleged danger of communism. We have not the

slightest desire to enter into cold war controversies or to be dragged into taking sides in this ideological conflict of our times. We resolutely maintain the right of every nation to follow whatever social system it may prefer, and we consider any action taken to coerce a people to follow a system not of their own choosing as violating the United Nations Charter and dangerous to international peace. In this respect we hold the Governments of the United Kingdom and the Federation of Malaya responsible for embarking upon a course of action that has definite implications on international relations and international peace.

### **Non-Alignment and Peaceful Co-existence**

There is already, even without "Malaysia", the presence of British military power in Malaya and in Singapore to commit Malaya to the Western bloc. The Anglo-Malayan Defence Agreement, although a freely negotiated contract between two sovereign governments, commits the Government of the Federation of Malaya to a situation which involves the presence of foreign troops on its soil and which in effect constitutes a compromise of its sovereignty. World opinion today is increasingly against the establishment of military bases on foreign territories. This principle of non-alignment adopted by the Bandung Conference in 1955 has, up to now, successfully guided the foreign policies of the non-aligned nations. We believe most fervently that this policy is the correct one to follow in this ideologically-divided world of ours. In the long run we have no doubt that it will be to the advantage of the British people, if the British Government takes the realistic view that peace and friendship among nations can only be achieved on the basis of equality, in an atmosphere of mutual trust and understanding, and not on the domination of the weak by the strong through force arms. The Government of the Federation of Malaya should realise that the destiny of its people lies particularly in friendship and cooperation with the Governments and peoples of Asia and Africa. A policy of alignment to any power bloc will only bring about complications and sufferings for its own people, as events over this proposed Federation are beginning to demonstrate.

### **Conclusion**

We appeal, therefore, to this highest gathering of nations, through your Excellency, its most respected Secretary-General, to take note of

the deteriorating situation now developing in South-East Asia. We are indeed pleased to read a report in the press on the 26th February, 1963, that as a result of talks by your Assistant, Mr. C.V. Narasimhan, with the various leaders involved in the dispute, the United Nations may decide to intervene. It is our very firm view that the proposed Federation of Malaysia, however desirable it may be in the opinions of the Sponsor-Governments, should on no account be forced over the heads of the peoples concerned. Let the peoples of the Borneo territories and of Singapore decide freely their own destinies. This right has been guaranteed them in the historic United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We fully support the idea of a plebiscite conducted by the United Nations to determine (a) whether the peoples concerned want complete independence or (b) whether they would like to join the proposed Federation of Malaysia. We strongly urge that such a step be taken immediately. We believe that this is the only way by which the present conflict can be peacefully resolved to the satisfaction of all parties.

We, citizens of the Federation of Malaya and Singapore, students and workingmen now resident in the United Kingdom, having agreed and duly drawn up this Memorandum, do hereby attest our signatures:

Done in London this day March 10th 1963.

Copies to: All Members of the United Nations.

Chairman of the Security Council  
Chairman of the Committee on Colonialism  
Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya  
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom  
Prime Minister of Singapore  
Sultan of Brunei  
High Commissioner for Brunei.  
Governor of Sarawak  
Governor of North Borneo  
President Sukarno of Indonesia  
President Macapagal of Phillipnes  
All Political Parties in Malaya  
All Political Parties in Singapore  
All Political Parties in Brunei

**All Political Parties in Sarawak**  
**All Political Parties in North Borneo**  
**All Political Parties in United Kingdom**  
**Afro-Asian Secretariat.**

**LETTER FROM DETAINED LEADERS OF  
THE PEOPLE'S PARTY OF BRUNEI  
TO THE CHIEF MINISTER, BRUNEI**

Kehadapan Majlis,  
Yang Amat Berhormat,  
Dato Setia Marsal bin Maun,  
Menteri Besar,  
BRUNEI.

Khemah Tahanan Berakas,  
Brunei.  
31st Ogos, 1964.

Dato Yang Amat Berhormat,

Adalah kami yang menurunkan tanda tangan di bawah ini dengan segala hormatnya dan dengan ingatan yang muhibbah menyampaikan surat ini kehadapan majlis Dato bagi pihak Kerajaan Seri Baginda Maulana Al-Sultan, Brunei mudah2an jua surat ini akan mendatangkan faedah dan keuntungan kepada kita semua.

2. Sebelum kami melanjutkan apa2 yang hendak kami katakan disurat ini, ada baiknya ditegaskan lebih dahulu, iaitu apa jua yang kami nyatakan, ikrar dan janji2an disurat ini, adalah lahirnya dari hati yang puteh berse; perasaan yang tulus ikhlas dan bukan pula dipengaruhi serta didorong oleh sesiapa jua pun atau kerana keadaan kami dalam tahanan ini melainkan daripada kesedaran dan keinsafan kami sendiri. Sebenarnya, memang sudah lama niat kami untuk menyampaikan isi hati kami melalui surat ini kepada Kerajaan Seri Baginda Maulana Al Sultan, maka baru hari inilah niat kami itu dimakbulkan oleh Tuhan.

3. Mengingat akan keadaan dan kenyataan politik dalam Negeri Brunei, sekarang ini dan mengingat akan Konfrontasi Indonesia keatas Malaysia dan kegiatan2 bersenjata negara tersebut diperbatasan Sarawak dan Sabah (Malaysia Timor) yang mana menyebabkan keadaan diseluruh kawasan Malaysia dalam bahaya yang dikhuatirkan akan melibatkan Negeri ini bersama.

4. Kerana itulah maka kami Ahli2 Majlis Mesyuarat Daerah, Negeri dan Kerajaan (kecuali Awang Sheikh Saleh bin Sheikh Mahmud). Brunei yang masih ditahan di Khemah ini, setelah menginsafi dan menyedari ancaman Indonesia keatas negara tetangga kita, Malaysia yang dikhuatirkan akan melibatkan Negeri ini bersama pada umumnya, dengan ini menyatakan kepada Dato bagi pihak Kerajaan

**IKRAR:**

- a. DEMI keselamatan, kesejahteraan dan kemakmuran Negeri Brunei baik untuk masa ini lebih-lebih lagi untuk masa-masa akan datang, maka jikalau tenaga kami yang tidak berharga ini diperlukan untuk hal yang disebutkan, pada bila-bila masa jua pun kami bersedia dengan sedaya upaya dan sepenuh tanggungjawab untuk memberikan kerjasama kepada Kerajaan Seri Baginda Al Sultan dan keturunan-keturunannya akan datang, terutama sekali di dalam memulehkan ketegangan politik dalam negeri ini.
- b. KAMI menentang sebarang elemen, unsur-unsur subersif asing serta orang-orang perseorangan mahupun pemimpin-pemimpin dimana saja ia atau mereka berada, yang cuba atau akan cuba mencabulkan kedaulatan Negeri ini kepada Kuasa-kuasa Asing "FOREIGN POWERS"; umpamanya cuba membawa Negeri ini ke dalam lingkungan pengaruh politik Indonesia.
- c. KAMI dengan tegasnya menyatakan bahawa kami tidak lagi mengiktiraf (tidak mengakui) Awang A.M. Azahari dan bekas pemimpin-pemimpin Partai Rakyat Brunei yang berada diluar Negeri sebagai pemimpin kami khasnya dan seluruh rakyat di dalam negeri ini pada umumnya. Dan kami sekali-kali tidak lagi akan menerima apajua pun perintah, arahan atau tunjuk ajar mereka itu baik pada masa ini mahupun pada masa-masa akan datang.
- d. DENGAN tegas kami nyatakan bahawa kami bersedia menentang sesiapa saja di dalam atau di luar negeri ini yang cuba meneruskan atau melanjutkan perjuangan 8 Disember, 1962 itu. Kerana kami menyedari dan menginsafi tindakan secara kekerasan itu bukan satu2nya jalan yang boleh menjayakan atau menghasilkan sesuatu yang dicita2kan.
- e. SETIAP MASA sedia memberikan sebarang sokongan dan kerjasama kepada Kerajaan Seri Baginda Maulana Al Sultan dalam usaha Seri Baginda dan Rakyat untuk mendapatkan kemerdekaan Negeri ini yang nantinya pasti akan menjadi negara anggota Negara2 Kemakmuran Bersama (Commonwealth of Nations).



- f. DI SINI kami nyatakan lagi bahawa taat setia kami semata2 ditujukan dan ditumpukan kepada Seri Baginda Maulana Al Sultan, Rakyat dan Negeri ini. Tidak ada Negeri yang paling kami sayangi, taati dan yang paling kami hargai selain daripada Negeri ini. Segenap tenaga, fikiran dan harta benda akan kami berikan demi membuktikan ikrar kami ini.

## **TINJAUAN2:**

5. Melihat kepada tindakan yang dilakukan oleh Indonesia pada belakangan ini, nyatalah Indonesia sedang menggunakan Peristiwa 8 Disember itu sebagai bahan propaganda di dalam dasarnya yang mengatakan “Indonesia menyokong setiap perjuangan rakyat yang anti-penjajahan di mana saja di dunia ini, iaitu rakyat yang berjuang kerana kemerdekaan tanah air mereka.” Sungguh pun ternyata bahawa Peristiwa 8 Disember itu telah menemui kegagalan namun Indonesia masih lagi menggunakannya sebagai bahan propaganda. Demikian juga halnya sikap muktamad rakyat2 di Sabah dan Sarawak yang mencapai kemerdekaan mereka menerusi Malaysia, oleh Indonesia tetap dipandang sepi dan maseh dipergunakan sebagai bahan propaganda.

6. Rakyat2 di Sabah dan Sarawak (Malaysia Timor) dan juga di Brunei telah berkali2 menyatakan kepada Indonesia khasnya dan kepada dunia pada umumnya bahawa rakyat daripada ketiga daerah ini adalah menolak sama sekali champorkan tangan dan bantuan Indonesia; baik secara militar maupun harta benda, dalam menyelesaikan urusan2 di dalam negeri, malah Indonesia maseh lagi meneruskan kegiatan2 bersenjata diperbatasan Malaysia Timor yang melapis perbatasan Brunei.

7. Di samping itu pula pemimpin2 Indonesia dengan lantangnya mengeluarkan kenyataan2 yang bukan2 seperti kenyataan Tuan Roslan Abdul Ghani, Menteri Penerangan Indonesia pada tahun lepas, di mana antara lain beliau telah mengatakan “rakyat2 di Kalimantan Utara ingin hidup berdampingan bahu dengan rakyat Indonesia”. Kenyataan beliau ini tidaklah mempunyai asas sama sekali, kerana rakyat di ketiga daerah ini tidak pernah bercita2 atau terlintas di dalam fikiran mereka untuk menuju ke arah itu. Sebab, rakyat di ketiga daerah tersebut lebih yakin hidup di dalam geo-politik mereka yang ada sekarang ini, iaitu hidup di dalam

lingkungan persaudaraan Negara-negara Kemakmuran Bersama yang lebih menguntungkan dan mengirup udara demokrasi.

## **PENDAPAT2:**

8. Pada pendapat kami intervensi (intervention) Indonesia diperbatasan Malaysia Timor itu dapat dimengertikan sebagai dasar peluasan daerah (Expansionism). Sungguh pun dasar konfrontasi Indonesia itu bukan ditujukan kepada Brunei, sebab kami belum melihat adanya bukti2 yang mengatakan pengganas2 Indonesia sudah mencabul perbatasan Negeri ini, namun kita nampak bahaya2 konfrontasi dan kegiatan2 bersenjata Indonesia itu kepada Negeri ini.

9. Kami sama2 menyedari dan menginsafi selagi Indonesia meneruskan dasar konfrontasi, propaganda dan kegiatan2 bersenjata di perbatasan Malaysia Timor, selama itulah keselamatan dan keamanan daerah itu akan terancam, tetapi bukanlah hal itu menjadi batu penghalang di dalam cita2 kita bersama mahu memulehkan ketenangan politik di dalam Negeri ini.

10. Untuk mengatasi dan membandong propaganda dan kempen Indonesia di luar negeri mengenai keadaan sebenarnya di daerah ini, maka kami menyatakan kesediaan kami untuk memberikan kerjasama kepada Kerajaan Seri Baginda Maulana Al Sultan di dalam soal mematahkan dan membersihkan habis kempen Indonesia kepada dunia itu. Kerjasama yang akan kami berikan dalam soal tersebut ialah berupa memberikan penjelasan2 dan penerangan2; baik secara mengeluarkan kenyataan2 (statements) kepada akhbar2 tempatan dan luar maupun berkempen secara terbuka kepada dunia luar.

## **CADANGAN2:**

11. Di dalam usaha2 mahu memulehkan ketenangan politik di dalam Negeri ini, kami mencadangkan:

- a. Supaya rakyat diberikan penerangan2 yang berupa nasihat agar mereka secara total (kebulatan) menumpukan taat setia yang tidak berbelah bagi kepada Seri Baginda dan Negeri ini.

- b. agar rakyat diberikan pengertian yang meluas di atas tanggungjawab mereka kepada Kerajaan Negeri dan sebalik-nya.
- c. rakyat diberikan penerangan yang menekankan keyakinan kepada faham menuntut sesuatu cita2 umpamanya cita2 politik mengenai kemerdekaan Negeri, menerusi jalan damai iaitu perundingan.
- d. Dan, kami juga bersedia memberikan kerjasama kepada Kerajaan Seri Baginda Maulana Al Sultan dalam memimpin rakyat Seri Baginda ke arah jalan dan cara BERPERLEM-BAGAAN: dalam usaha Seri Baginda dan Rakyat mencapai kemerdekaan Negeri ini.

Penerangan2 tersebut dapat dilaksanakan secara risalah2, poster2, ucapan2 melalui siaran radio, ucapan2 dirapat2 dan perjumpaan, kalau perlu dengan mengadakan kursus2 kilat yang diawasi dengan kerjasama dari Kerajaan Seri Baginda Maulana Al Sultan dengan cara memberikan kemudahan kepada kami. Untuk melaksanakan segala kerja2 ini, kami yakin dengan izin Allah akan dapat diselesaikan dalam tempoh sembilan hingga delapan belas bulan.

12. Dalam usaha hendak mematahkan dan membersihkan propaganda Indonesia itu, kami mencadangkan supaya satu Konferensi Antara Partai2 Politik (All Party Conference) yang terdiri dari partai2 politik di Malaysia Timor dan Brunei patut diadakan untuk mencari kata sepakat bagi menentukan sikap dan tindakan yang sama dalam soal menghadapi propaganda Indonesia itu. Sekurang2nya Konferensi Antara Partai2 Politik itu nanti mengeluarkan satu kenyataan bersama (Joint Communique) yang menegaskan pendirian rakyat dari ketiga daerah tersebut. Hal ini kami pandang sangat penting ertinya, di mana nanti Indonesia akan dapat melihat dengan terang bagaimana hasrat dan azam rakyat dari ketiga daerah ini, baik dalam perjuangan mereka mencapai kemerdekaan nasional dan juga dalam soal mempertahankan kemerdekaan masing-masing.

13. Seterusnya kami mencadangkan supaya satu delegasi yang terdiri dari pemimpin-pemimpin rakyat dan pegawai-pegawai Kerajaan dari ketiga daerah tersebut diutus keluar negeri bagi menghapuskan gambaran politik yang palsu dipamerkan oleh Indonesia diarena politik internasional.

14. Oleh kerana kekecuaan politik di negara tertangga kita Malaysia sekarang ini sebanyak sedikit ada perkaitan dengan sejarah perkembangan politik Negeri ini dan sejajar dalam berpandu kepada dasar Saling-Membantu serta Siratul-Rahim antara Kerajaan Seri Baginda Maulana Al Sultan dengan Kerajaan Malaysia, kami mencadangkan supaya Kerajaan Brunei mengambil iniatip dan langkah-langkah yang tidak merugikan demi menjayakan cita-cita tersebut di atas.

### **MENJUNJUNG TITAH DIRAJA:**

15. Sebagai rakyat yang taat setia Kebawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Maulana Al Sultan, Brunei maka dengan hati yang tulus ikhlas kami menjunjung dan menyambut baik akan titah Seri Baginda baru-baru ini, iaitu menyeru sekalian rakyat supaya memberikan kerjasama dalam segala lapangan dan bersama-sama mempertahankan negara ini. Sebagai menjunjung dan menyambut titah Seri Baginda, maka kami menyatakan kesediaan dan kesanggupan kami untuk bersama-sama dengan rakyat seluruhnya mempertahankan Negara Brunei Darul Salam.

16. Dengan ini kami juga mengucapkan berbanyak-banyak terima kasih atas kunjungan muhibbah rombongan Dato ke khemah ini pada hari khamis, 20hb Ogos 1964 kemarin. Dan sebagai menyambut seruan Dato pada hari itu, maka sekali lagi ditegaskan bahawa kami bersama memberikan kerjasama kepada Kerajaan Seri Baginda Maulana Al-Sultan di dalam memulihkan semula ketegangan politik di dalam Negeri ini, juga dibidang-bidang lain.

### **PENUTUP:**

17. Oleh sebab semua isi dan hasrat kami tidak dapat selengkapnya disebutkan di dalam surat ini, terutama sekali yang berupa PROGRAMMA KERJA berhubung dengan para-para (11) a, b, d, dan d, juga para-para (12) dan (13) maka kami berharap supaya bagi pihak Dato, ataupun wakil peribadi Dato, akan sudi kiranya menerima tiga orang wakil-wakil kami untuk menjelaskan lebih lanjut akan maksud-maksud surat ini. Kalau perlu kami bersedia menyusun Programma Kerja dan langkah-langkah dipandang segera.

18. Adalah juga menjadi keyakinan kami bahawa bekas pemimpin-pemimpin dan ahli-ahli Majlis Masyuarat Daerah, Negeri dan Kerajaan yang ada diblock-block lain itu; juga bekas pemimpin-pemimpin dan ahli-ahli Majlis Masyuarat Daerah, Negeri dan Kerajaan yang sudah dibebaskan pada keseluruhannya sependapat dengan Ikrar, tinjauan-tinjauan, pendapat-pendapat dan cadangan-cadangan yang kami ambil ini. Kami juga yakin bahawa mereka itu kesemuanya akan sanggup memberikan kerjasama dalam melaksanakan rencana yang kami kemukakan ini.

Sebelum mengakhiri surat ini kami terlebih dahulu menuntut maaf kepada Dato kiranya ada kesilapan dan kekasaran di dalam surat ini. Kami sama-sama berharap mudah-mudahan surat ini akan mendapat perhatian dan pertimbangan dari Dato dan Seri Baginda Maulana Al-Sultan.

Kami sudahi dengan ucapan terimakasih.

Wassalam.

Adalah kami,

Rakyat-rakyat Kebawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia  
Maulana Al Sultan Yang Taat Setia.

1. Awang Mesir bin Awang Keruddin.
2. Awang Mohammad Yasin bin Awang A. Rahman
3. Awang Osman bin Awang Latif.
4. Awang Momin bin Awang Ahmad.
5. Awang Zaini bin Haji Ahmad.
6. Awang Abdullah bin Awang Jahfar.
7. Awang Haji Garip bin Dato Haji Manggol.
8. Awang Abdul Hamid bin Awang Muhammad.
9. Awang Jais bin Awang Haji Karim.
10. Awang Lalim bin Haji Seruddin.
11. Awang Sheikh Saleh bin Sheikh Mahmud.

# **MINUTES OF THE FIRST CONFERENCE OF THE NORTH KALIMANTAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE**

**Held on 16th to 29th March, 1965.**

A. From the speech of the Prime Minister Azahari during the opening ceremony of the Conference we cite these words:

- a) Let us hold this session with a broad and clear mind and with profound thought, being leaders coming from the people and fully responsible for revolution and for the independence of our motherland.
- b) Let us show the world that those who are holding session to-day are the true sons of North Kalimantan who are seriously fighting against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism with a patriotic, revolutionary and invincible spirit and with undivided unity.
- c) Let us prove that those who are holding session to-day represent the aspirations of the revolutionary people of the whole North Kalimantan, posses a militant spirit and hold firmly to the conviction of heroic and just struggle and of ultimate victory on our side.

B. A few words from the speech of the Defence Minister Ahmad Zaidi Adruce, M.A. (Edin):

“The outbreak of our armed revolution on December 8, 1962 with the Proclamation of Independence was a manifestation which no one may doubt, i.e. manifestation against oppression, a manifestation that the people of North Kalimantan are not willing to have their beloved motherland included in the British ‘Malaysia’ project. I think this was not only a manifestation particularly to oppose ‘Malaysia’ but was also a fact of the existence of national consciousness, the existence of the rising tide of nationalism, asserting to the world the identity of a nation firmly united under one banner in the struggle to demand basic human rights, the basic rights of a people which has been suppressed for hundreds of years.”

C. An extract from the speech of the Secretary for Internal Affairs Yong Ah Bun:

“Now ‘Malaysia’ has been forcibly brought into being. Is there any change in the political situation? No, not only it has not changed, but British and U.S. imperialists continue to do whatever they like; with the military forces they buy, and work hand in glove with, the Malaya feudal comprador clique and the comprador clique in North Kalimantan; they make use of their economic, political and cultural influences on the people for establishing the domination of Malaysia’ which represents the interests of British colonialists, the Malaya feudal comprador clique and the comprador clique in the North Kalimantan. Furthermore. they, utilise the military support and financial aids and loans of high rate of interest as a tool to continue their control, exploitation of and intervention in our country, to continue the suppression of our people with the view to strangle our revolution.”

**EXTRACT FROM THE  
DECLARATION OF NORTH KALIMANTAN PEOPLES  
REVOLUTIONARY CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE,  
Released after session held on March 16-29, 1965.**

**PREAMBLE**

The formation of North Kalimantan People’s Revolutionary Consultative Committee (NKPRCC) is in conformity with the decision reached in the first Government meeting of the Unitary State of North Kalimantan held on November 15-18, 1964 in Area. The formation of the Committee is based on the power vested on the Prime Minister in the Provisional Constitution of the Unitary State of North Kalimantan of 1962 . Chapter 3, Article 5 (2) and Chapter 7, Article 22 (1) and the appointment of members of the Committee is based on a Government Decree No. 001/Nov./PM/64 dated November 25. 1964. The total number of members at present is 35, the membership consists of some of the leaders and fighters from all the three provinces and from among the various races in the country.

NKPRCC is an advisory body to the Revolutionary Government of the Unitary State of North Kalimantan.

During this historical session many problems internal and external had been thoroughly discussed and a number of concrete decisions had been reached, all of which are aimed at the strengthening of the

unity of all leaders and fighters in particular and of the unity of North Kalimantan people in general in their combined effort and struggle to defend the national independence of the Unitary State of North Kalimantan, proclaimed on December 8, 1962.

In going through the waves of the revolution, the Committee based its confidence on the strength of North Kalimantan people and their ability to stand on their own feet.

In the international field, all the decisions are aimed at enlightening the world on the revolution of the people of North Kalimantan which has come to be a force amongst the New Emerging Forces to completely smash imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in all their forms and manifestations. The Committee is also of the opinion that only by strengthening the common front against imperialism and fighting together, shoulder to shoulder with all other countries of the New Emerging Forces that complete victory could be realised in the world.

The United Nations survey in Sarawak and Sabah is a violation of Manila Declaration and of principles of democracy. Apparently there was manipulation by the imperialists who are squatting in the United Nations Organisation. The following facts, among others, were not revealed:

1. Intimidation and suppression of the people by the colonial army.
2. Series of arrests of people's leaders which were carried out secretly by the colonialists even during the period when the U.N. team was in the country.
3. Suppressive influence by officers of the colonial government, especially the whites, on some chiefs and village headmen who, through ignorance and fear, were told to say 'Yes to Malaysia. In many cases they were rehearsed by the colonial officials as to what to say to the Michelmores team. These could not be considered as true leaders of the people, although they pretended to represent their communities.

Taking the above mentioned facts into consideration, the Conference reiterated that the formation of Malaysia is illegal and detrimental to the real interests of the North Kalimantan people.



2. The Conference has carefully considered the speech delivered by H.E. the Prime Minister of the Unitary State of North Kalimantan on policies of the revolution and accepted the policies as a general line of action for the success of the struggle of North Kalimantan people.

3. The Conference expressed its full confidence in the Central Government of the Unitary State of North Kalimantan in leading the struggle of North Kalimantan people and its support to the resolutions concluded in the Governmental Meeting of the Unitary State of North Kalimantan held on November 15-18, 1964.

4. The Conference calls upon the people of North Kalimantan, especially the fighters in villages, in towns, in the great jungles of North Kalimantan and in the imperialist prison. to unite and have confidence in the victory of North Kalimantan people's revolution. Further the Conference has decided to inform the people that one important organisation has been born with the purpose to rally all revolutionary progressive potentials in North Kalimantan. Based on the proposal of the Conference this organisation is named The United National Revolutionary Front of North Kalimantan. The aims of which, among others, are as follows:

- a) To firmly oppose the aggression of British and U.S. imperialists and fight to crush the British project "Malaysia" and, with full confidence, defend the national independence of the Unitary State of North Kalimantan as proclaimed on December 8, 1962 under the leadership of Prime Minister Azahari.
- b) Firmly fight for the realisation of complete independence based on genuine democracy in conformity with the aspirations of North Kalimantan revolutionary people.
- c) Rely on the strength of the revolutionary masses from various strata especially farmers and workers and on the unity of the whole people in the fight for the victory of the revolution and for the achievement of the aims of the revolution.
- d) Fight for raising the living standard of the workers and farmers in order that they will become a dynamic as well as productive force in raising the standard of the nation and country internally and externally.

- e) This Front is to fight, shoulder to shoulder, with the peoples of the New Emerging Forces to exterminate imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

5. The Conference fully believes that the people of North Kalimantan will closely co-operate with the emergency governmental authorities set up in all the provinces, residencies, districts and villages throughout North Kalimantan and, furthermore, the Conference appeals to all people to render full support to the guerrillas of the North Kalimantan National Army who are in action in various districts.

6. The Conference warns the people of North Kalimantan to be wary of the British Colonial politics intended to disrupt the integrity of the Unitary State of North Kalimantan as proclaimed, by granting independence separately to Brunei, Sabah and Sarawak. The Conference is aware of this manoeuvre on the side of the British and condemns it.

7. The Conference urges the Central Government to intensify its work in establishing its identity and the revolution it leads as a true manifestation of the desire of the people in defence of the national independence which has been proclaimed. The Conference, therefore, proposes that the struggle in the international field be intensified by sending missions to the countries of the New Emerging Forces in order that leaders of these countries will obtain first hand knowledge of the struggle of North Kalimantan people.

8. The Conference highly appreciated and accepted the proposal in the TAVIP speech of H.E. President of the Republic of Indonesia on August 17, 1964 that the British should negotiate with the Government of the Unitary State of North Kalimantan. The Conference regards this proposal as a historical fact of great significance and as a concrete recognition on the side of the Indonesia Government and people of the leaders and the revolution of the North Kalimantan people.

9. The North Kalimantan People's Revolutionary Consultative Committee herewith formally expresses its gratitude and highest respect to the people and the Government of the Republic of

Indonesia under the leadership of H.E. President Sukarno for their sympathy, assistance and support to the struggle of the North Kalimantan people in defence of their national independence as proclaimed on December 8, 1962. To those political parties in Indonesia which had signed the Bogor Declaration on December 12, 1964, the Conference also expresses its appreciation and respect for their support to the Revolutionary Government of the Unitary State of North Kalimantan and to the revolution of the North Kalimantan people. To the Armed Forces of Indonesia, to the Indonesia Journalists Association, to the Radio & TV of the Republic of Indonesia and to all Indonesian newspapers and periodicals the Conference expresses profound gratitude.

10. The Conference supports the clear-cut and firm attitude of H.E. President Sukarno and that of the Indonesia Government and people to quit the United Nations. The Conference regards this as a continuation of the Indonesian Government Confrontation on the British project 'Malaysia' and as a direct support to the revolution of North Kalimantan people.

11. The Conference is of the opinion that as long as there is imperialism, capitalism, colonialism and neocolonialism; as long as there are nuclear bombs, military pacts in the hands of the imperialists and foreign military bases in the world, genuine national independence and democracy cannot be achieved and there could not be lasting world peace and security in the hearts of mankind. The Conference therefore firmly and strongly condemns:

- a) Imperialist aggression and intervention in the world.
- b) All military pacts, especially NATO, SEATO and ANZUS.
- c) Defence Agreement between Britain and Malaya.
- d) Governments of Britain, Canada, U.S., Australia and New Zealand as they openly sent armed forces to North Kalimantan and gave financial support to the government of Malaya to maintain its domination and suppression of the independence movement of the North Kalimantan people.
- e) British and Malayan governments which are responsible

for the arrests and torture of the leaders of the people in North Kalimantan, Malaya and Singapore.

- f) Shameless and inhuman actions by colonial soldiers on our women in remote villages and in towns.
- g) Certain governments in Asia and Africa which render open support to the British policy to uphold the Malaysia project. Their action is a betrayal to the principle of self-determination and the Ten Principles of Bandung.
- h) Foreign military bases in Asian, African and Latin American countries.

12. The Conference fully supports the struggle of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism for complete national independence, among others:

IN ASIA: Vietnam, Laos, Malaya, Singapore, Korea, Southern Arabia and Palestine.

IN AFRICA: Congo, Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and South Africa.

IN LATIN AMERICA: Venezuela, British Guiana, Colombia and the Dominican Republic and other countries still under colonial domination.

13. The Conference expresses its support to the proposal of the Government of the People's Republic of China to hold an international conference attended by representatives of all governments in the world to discuss and find out means and ways for the destruction of all nuclear bombs and banning nuclear bomb tests and manufacture.

14. The Conference is of the opinion that "the Doctrine of Sukarno Macapagal" that Asian problems be solved by the Asians themselves without interference from outside is a very important principle for achieving understanding in all important issues and other problems in Asia and for the attainment of peace in Asia.

15. The Conference appreciates highly the decision of the Second

Conference of Non-Alligned countries held in 1964 in Cairo that the puppet government "Malaysia" was not accepted to the Conference.

16. The Conference appreciated highly the decision of the Non-Alligned Conference that armed struggle of peoples in all countries in the world for the achievement of national independence is righteous.

17. The Conference respects highly and hopes that the Preparatory Committee of the Second Afro-Asian Conference will strictly uphold the decisions arrived at in the Preliminary meeting in Djakarta, viz:

- a) Malayan puppet government will not be invited to attend the Second Afro-Asian Conference to be held in Algiers in June, 1965.
- b) Preparatory Committee will invite the Government of the Unitary State of North Kalimantan to attend the Conference not only as observer but as full participant.

18. The Conference highly appreciates and expresses its respect and gratitude to all international organisations which have given their moral support to the struggle of North Kalimantan people, among others:

- a) Permanent Secretariat of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation in Cairo and its branches in Africa and Asia.
- b) World Federation of Democratic Youth
- c) International Women Association.
- d) Asian Economic Seminar in Pyong Yang.
- e) International Youth Association
- f) Phillipine Press Club.
- g) Afro-Asian Journalists Association and other journalists in the world, who have given support and publicity for the struggle of North Kalimantan people.

19. The Conference appeals to all countries and peoples in the world to press the British imperialists and their puppet to stop their

acts of torture of political detainees and to set them free immediately in North Kalimantan, Malaya and Singapore.

20. The Conference calls on the peoples and journalists of the world:

- a) to press the British to set free immediately all the journalists and personnel of the press in North Kalimantan who had been arrested and detained by the colonialists.
- b) to press the British and their puppet to restore the rights of the press to all newspapers which had been banned because they were on the side of the independence movement of the North Kalimantan people.

21. The Conference appeals to all political parties, mass organisations and peoples in Malaya and Singapore to intensify their struggle to crush the British project "Malaysia", the British puppet government and his allies, for a genuine independence of Malaya and Singapore and to smash all foreign military bases in Malaya and Singapore. The Conference expresses its thanks and brotherly greetings to them for their support to the struggle of the North Kalimantan people and calls for co-operation in this important struggle and during this very critical period.

22. The First Commemoration of the 10th Anniversary of the Afro-Asian Conference which will be held on April 18, 1965 in Indonesia is a true manifestation of Afro-Asian solidarity and will constitute a driving force towards the success of the coming Second Afro-Asian Conference in Algiers in 1965 and will also be a proof that Afro-Asian countries always uphold the decisions taken in the Bandung Conference.

23. On the physical struggle going on in North Kalimantan the Conference expresses its full confidence in the revolutionary people and in the North Kalimantan National Army (Tentera Nasional Kalimantan Utara).

24. The Conference fully trusts the Revolutionary Government in carrying out information and propaganda based on the following:

- 1) to foster national unity among the progressive and revolu-

tionary North Kalimantan people;

- a) to oppose the politics of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in attempting domination by employing military strength to invade the Unitary State of North Kalimantan the independence of which had been proclaimed on December 8, 1962.
  - b) to crush, the neo-colonialist project "Malaysia"
  - c) to expound to the people that British imperialism and its project "Malaysia" is the source of poverty, ignorance and humiliation.
- 2) a) to propagate the importance of the role of the United National Revolutionary Front of North Kalimantan as a powerful tool in the revolution.
- b) to develop self-reliance among the people and that the success of their revolution will depend on their own readiness to suffer and sacrifice even for a long time.

#### **MEMBERS OF NORTH KALIMANTAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE**

1. A.M. AZAHARI MAHMUD	Brunei, (B)
2. AHMAD ZAIDI ADRUCE	Sibu, (S)
3. YONG AH BUN	Kuching, (S)
4. YAP CHOON HO	Kuching, (S)
5. LAY CHOON	Sibu, (S)
6. Colonel YUSUF ABDULLAH (TNKU)	Pensiangan, (SB)
7. SUEB SAME	Bau, (S)
8. KASSIM ABUBAKAR (TNKU)	Sandakan, (SB)
9. Major DAGANG (TNKU) (alias PANGLIMA DAGANG	Simanggang, (S)
10. BUJANG	Kuching, (S)
11. ABDULRAHMAN DELI	Kuching, (S)
12. CHONG TSU HOI (TNKU)	Serian, (S)
13. DUNSTAN CHONG (TNKU)	Betong, (S)
14. BONG HON	Serian, (S)
15. LIM AH LIM (TNKU)	Kuching, (S)
16. JONG CHU CHONG (TNKU)	Batu Kawah (S)
17. JAIS ABBAS	Brunei, (B)

18. 1st Lieut. OGA (TNKU)	Ulu Baram, (S)
19. 1st Lieut. LIRIN	Kapit, (S)
20. HAMDAN (TNKU)	Lawas, (S)
21. HAMID BUKU (TNKU)	Tawao, (SB)
22. GANI LAMAT (TNKU)	Brunei, (B)
23. 2nd Lieut. YUSUF IBRAHIM	Brunei, (B)
24. KATHRINE (f)	Keningau, (SB)
25. DAENG AK UNding (TNKU)	Temburong, (B)
26. JAYA AH TRANG (TNKU)	Temburong, (B)
27. RANGGAU AK BELIANG (TNKU)	Temburong, (B)
28. GUNTUR (TNKU)	Limbang, (S)
29. JAMPUNG	Simanggang, (S)
30. AJET	Simanggang, (S)
31. TAMAN BASAH (TNKU)	Kapit, (S)
32. 2nd Lieut. BAHA (TNKU)	Brunei, (B)
33. KARIM (TNKU)	Lawas, (S)
34. CHEN YING (f)	Kuching, (S)
35. BADAR (TNKU)	Brunei (B)

**Footnote:**

(S): Sarawak.

(B): Brunei.

(SB): Sabah.

(f): Female.

(TNKU): North Kalimantan National Army.





PRB Headquarters



Sir Denis White

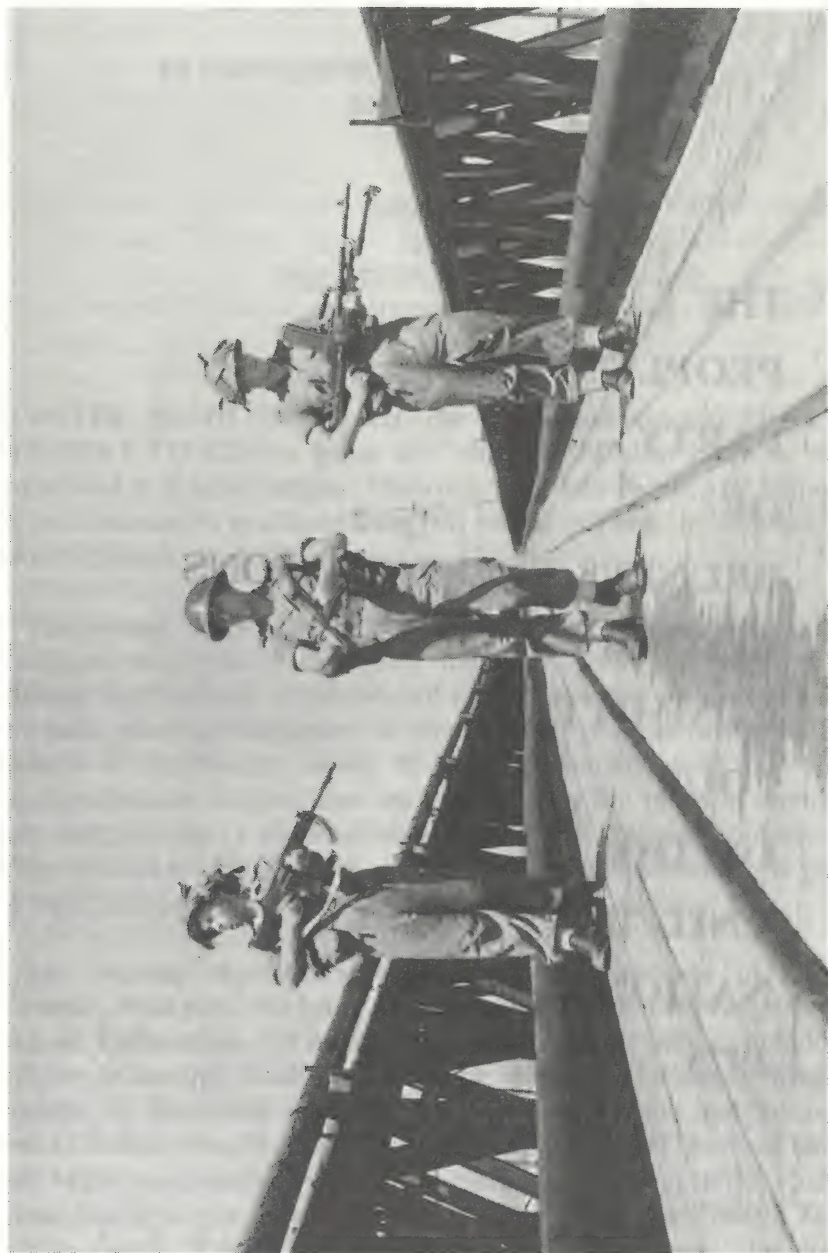


Inmates of Detention Camp, Berakas playing games.





European Prisoners of War



British soldiers on patrol

**THE  
PEOPLE'S  
PARTY  
OF  
BRUNEI'S PRESENTATIONS  
BEFORE  
COMMITTEE  
FOUR  
OF THE  
UNITED  
NATIONS,  
1975**

**MEMORANDUM  
TO  
MUSLIM FOREIGN MINISTERS  
NOW  
IN CONFERENCE AT KUALA LUMPUR  
MALAYSIA**

Submitted  
by  
**THE PEOPLE'S PARTY  
BRUNEI  
(1974)**

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, the Compassionate and Merciful, WE PRAY TO HIM to grant and bless the Muslim Leaders, now assembled in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, with His Taufik and Hidayat in their mission to eradicate from this world evil and, in its place, to establish Justice and Equality among Mankind:

The Second Islamic Conference held in Lahore, Islamic Republic of Pakistan, in February this year, marked a great achievement in Muslim Brotherhood. It established a gigantic force which, unlike in the past, must be recognised in international relations affecting the pattern of the Muslim world. It is an undeniable fact that both Imperialism and Colonialism are shakened by the political strength and unity shown by the Muslim leaders at the Lahore Conference. They realized too that the Lahore Declaration has quickened the pace of their total destruction from the surface of this world.

The coming Muslim Foreign Ministers Conference in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, will bring a step closer towards the reality of the Lahore Declaration. Of course, both Imperialism and Colonialism will try to corrupt Muslim Leaders, or rather the so-called Muslim leaders, by shameless methods, that is, with Dollars and Pounds, and to violate Muslim rights by supporting the illegal State of Israel and brutal suppression of liberation movements such as in the Philippines South Africa, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, South West Africa and the Sultanate of Brunei. The violation demands the sympathy of Muslim leaders particularly those who are assembled here in Kuala Lumpur.

## **Your Excellencies:**

At this precious moment, may we crave your indulgence to state here, in brief, that inspired by the teachings of our Glorious Quran and the path shown us by our beloved Prophet, Nabi Muhammad s.a.w., the people of the Sultanate of Brunei, about 90 per cent of whom are Muslims, under the banner of the mass-supported and banned People's Party of Brunei, have long been fighting for independence from British colonial rule. In carrying out its political programme, the People's Party of Brunei, in 1957 submitted a Memorandum to the then Colonial Secretary in London, seeking political changes in the constitutional structure of the Sultanate. The Memorandum was followed by a three-man "Merdeka" Delegation. After a lengthy but futile discussion with the then abdurate Colonial Secretary, the "Merdeka" Delegation was told that Her Britannic Majesty's Government was not prepared to grant self-government to the Sultanate. Highly frustrated, the delegates returned to Brunei empty-handed. However, the Peoples' Party of Brunei continued, by peaceful means, to fight for the rightful and just cause of the people in accordance with the spirit of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Colonial Authorities in the Sultanate of Brunei then and still watched the anti-colonial activities of the party with intense jealousy and suspicion. The party was branded as LEFT and foreign-orientated. The whole of governmental apparatus (Police and Information) were directed to crush the organization and popularity of the party. Party leaders were intimidated and threatened with political detention. Nevertheless, the party leadership continued the struggle and pressured London until the British Government responded with the Brunei Constitution of 1959.

The Constitution of 1959 stipulated that an election to the Legislative Assembly was to be held within two years of its promulgation, that is, **not later than the 29th day of September, 1961**. When the target date came nearer, the Colonial Authorities in the Sultanate of Brunei unconstitutionally postponed it on the grounds of some "unforeseen circumstances."

When the first state-wide elections were finally held in August, 1962, the People's Party of Brunei decided to give it a trial. The count



of votes determinedly showed that the party won an overwhelming majority, winning 54 out of 55 seats contested. The semi-democratic constitution, however, barred the Party from forming a Government though it received 98 per cent of the votes cast. There was no provision in the Constitution of 1959 to effect such ministerial Government. This, of course, increased political frustration among the populace and total distrust of the British Government.

Provoked by British political treachery and urged by the inalienable right to national freedom and independence, the people of Brunei revolted against British Colonialism on the 8th of December, 1962. The Revolution which received popular support took the Colonial Authorities by surprise. It liberated the whole Sultanate from foreign domination for some time. Alas! the People's movement was mercilessly crushed by the whole might of British forces in the Far East, at one time deploying some 10,000 trained soldiers.

Ever since the Revolution, the Sultanate of Brunei has been placed under a State of Emergency. The People's Party of Brunei was banned and all its leaders, including Councillors, five Executive, fifteen Legislators and thirty-three District Councillors, were illegally arrested and placed under detention. At the height of the Revolution, some 2,354 members of the Party were arrested and detained. Eight leaders escaped to Malaysia on 12th of July, 1973. About 49 political detainees, most of whom are Muslim, are still being detained in maximum security at the punitive centre of Jerudong Prison House, Brunei. They include an Executive Councillor, two Legislative Councillors and five District Councillors, all of whom are leaders of the People's Party of Brunei. They have been under detention for more than eleven solid years now!

Whatever agenda Your Excellencies have agreed upon to discuss at the Kuala Lumpur Conference, there is one urgent matter which deserves your attention and sympathy. It is about the Sultanate of Brunei, the last piece of Islamic land still under foreign domination and exploitation.

The Sultanate of Brunei exported 9, 183 million tons of crude oil worth M\$ 462 million in 1972 compared with 5,700 million tons worth M\$ 304.8 million in the previous year. Though her export of crude oil is relatively negligible to world production, the fact remains that she is the second largest oil producing country in Southern Asia.

Given her independence, the Sultanate of Brunei will certainly play her party in the economic development of Muslim countries in this region. This can be done by the proper employment of her reserve funds in association with the proposed Islamic Bank.

Your noble aim for global organization of Muslim Nations will be incomplete without the participation of the Sultanate of Brunei. If the Lahore Declaration specifically extended moral and political support to the Palestinian Liberation Organization, we see no reason why the Kuala Lumpur Conference should not be able to offer the same solidarity in our struggle against Colonialism in the Sultanate of Brunei. Under the Flames of the Lahore Declaration, we beg to solicit the following support:

1. That the Muslim Foreign Ministers now assembled in Kuala Lumpur pass a resolution calling upon the Britain Government to grant immediate independence to the Sultanate of Brunei with the stipulation that the legally elected representatives of the People's Party of Brunei be invited to form the first Government;
2. That the British Government be urged to advise His Highness the Sultan of Brunei to release the remaining political detainees immediately;
3. To give moral and material support to the People's Party of Brunei in its fight against Colonialism.

### **In Conclusion:**

We, the Executive and Central Committee members of the PEOPLES' PARTY OF BRUNEI, now temporarily resident in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, Pray to ALLAH to enlighten those Muslim leaders in whose hands the destiny of the Muslims all over the world lies.

**PETITION SUBMITTED BY  
THE PEOPLE'S PARTY OF BRUNEI  
TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL  
COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS, LONDON**

The Honourable Mr. A.C. Smith  
Secretary-General  
Commonwealth Secretariat  
Marlborough House, Pall Mall  
London S.W.1

Dear Sir,

We, the undersigned, leaders of the banned People's Party of Brunei, now resident abroad having regard to:

1. the commitments of the free nations of the Commonwealth to work for the constitutional advancement of dependent states towards full self-government and independence,
2. the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Territories and Peoples adopted under Resolution 1514 (XV) on the 14th of December, 1960,
3. the Joint-Communique issued by Her Majesty's Government Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs and His Highness the Sultan of Brunei now referred to as WHITE PAPER NO: 4/65,
4. and the ability of Her Majesty's Government to take the necessary steps to uphold and carry the above commitments.

resolved to PETITION this Association of Free Nations of the Commonwealth through the office of the Honourable, the Secretary-General, to immediately convene a Constitutional Conference between the representatives of Her Majesty's Government, His Highness the Sultan of Brunei and the legally elected representatives of the People's Party of Brunei with the view to prepare the way for the constitutional advancement of the Sultanate of Brunei.

**Historical Background**

On the 29th of September, 1959 Her Majesty's Government, justly recognising the inalienable rights of the people of the Sultanate of Brunei and the inevitable march of history, granted the Sultanate of

Brunei its first written constitution, the Constitution of Brunei, 1959 which provided for a semi-elected Legislative Assembly comprising sixteen (16) elected members, sixteen (16) nominated members and an independent Speaker.

When the first ever election was held under the provision of the Constitution of Brunei, 1959 in August, 1962 the People's Party of Brunei won all the sixteen (16) elected seats in the Legislative Assembly. This gave the party the full mandate of the electorate which, under normal constitutional practice, gave the party the right to form the first semi-democratic government of the state. However, due to the semi-democratic and colonial nature of the constitution, the party was deprived of the political right to govern the state. This, of course, caused immense despair and discontentment throughout the state. There was also a degree of distrust of the sincerity of Her Majesty's Government, a major factor which inevitably lead to the Brunei Revolution of December, 1962.

### **The Brunei Revolution of December 1962**

Constitutionally, the Sultanate of Brunei is a semi-self-governing British Protectorate. However, selected effective control is in the hands of a handful of British Officers who hold key positions in the Administrative Service of the Sultanate of Brunei. These officers run the country with 'carte blanche' powers of life and death.

The most tragic example was when the elected representatives of the People's Party of Brunei gave a formal notice of their intention to table a number of Motions seeking political mandate to fight for the independence of the Sultanate of Brunei at the first meeting of the Legislative Assembly scheduled to take place on the 5th of December, 1962. Unfortunately, the meeting was never held. The Sultan, acting on the advice of the British High Commissioner (whose advice must be sought and acted upon, a constitutional imperative) instructed the Speaker to postpone it to the 19th of December, 1962. Provoked and frustrated, the people of the Sultanate of Brunei launched the Brunei Revolution of December, 1962.

We do not totally put the blame for the Brunei Revolution on the shoulders of Her Majesty's Government, but we do resolutely believe that the people of the Sultanate of Brunei, deprived of constitutional

means, demonstrated their discontentment and political frustration in a noble way heroically fighting for their freedom. We do not always approve violence as the only means in the defence of a just and rightful cause but under persistent provocations and the undemocratic behaviour of the British Officers in depriving our rights to govern the state, the Brunei Revolution of December, 1962 is justified.

Immediately after the Brunei Revolution of December 1962, a State of Emergency was declared, followed by indiscriminate, retaliative and repressive measures against our party members. There were mass arrests. The People's Party of Brunei was banned. Its leaders including 16 elected representatives, were arrested and put under detention without trial. This was done by and with the active cooperation of the whole of the British Military might which numbered 10,000 personnel at the height of the revolution.

Of the 2,342 party members arrested, there are (almost 14 years after the revolution) some 42 party members still under detention without trial and a couple of whom died during detention and one is insane.

We do not, and perhaps will not understand why Her Majesty's Government did not and would not counsel the Government of Brunei to abandon its repressive measures and free all the remaining political detainees. We do not equally understand why a socialist Labour Government fails to lead and guide the Sultanate of Brunei back to democratic principles and pave the way to constitutional advancement. Notwithstanding the Brunei Agreement of 1971, whereby through legal manipulation Her Majesty's Government shifts responsibility onto the shoulder of His Highness the Sultan of Brunei, we still hold Her Majesty's Government responsible for the state of affairs in the Sultanate of Brunei.

### **Deteriorating Relations With Malaysia**

It may not be out of place for us to state our greatest concern over the growing tension between the Sultanate of Brunei and her sisterly neighbouring state of Malaysia over the so called "Limbang Dispute" which has been pursued by the Sultanate of Brunei ever since 1964. The tension has been aggravated by our escape from the Brunei Detention Camp on the 12th of July, 1973 and the subsequent granting of political asylum to us by the Government of Malaysia. The

Sultanate of Brunei repeatedly accused Malaysia of complicity in our escape. She did not, however, try to explain the real reason of the escape. To be fair to all concerned, the Government of Brunei should frankly admit the fact that we had sent in several petitions of redress to both the state Government and Her Majesty's Government; all to no avail.

At the same time, the Government of the Sultanate of Brunei requested the British Government to pressure the Malaysian Government to extradite us to Brunei which Malaysia flatly and rightly refused on the ground of international practice and humane consideration.

Highly frustrated, the Sultanate of Brunei commenced and is still continuing to pursue her unfriendly and provocative manner towards Malaysia. This was heightened by the Sultanate of Brunei's decision to recall all her students from Malaysian institutes of higher learning in November, 1974.

The Sultanate of Brunei also retaliated by arresting a number of our party members, mostly ex-detainees and at the same time shortening and repatriating the services of Malaysian Officers in the Brunei Civil Service including army personnel on secondment from the British Army to the Brunei Malay Regiment.

### **British Military Pullout**

Under the Brunei Agreement of 1971, Great Britain agreed to place a battalion of Gurkhas to protect the Oil Field in Seria, the Sultanate of Brunei at the latter's expense. This has helped to keep the defence requirement of the Sultanate of Brunei in equilibrium. But when Her Majesty's government Defence Secretary, Mr. Roy Mason announced the Labour Government's decision to pullout the troops East of Suez last year, the Sultanate of Brunei was thrown into total panic and confusion. It is a belief in the Sultanate of Brunei that if the Gurkhas are withdrawn from the state, they will leave what a retired British General said lately "a hole in the state's defence line". If left unfilled, continued the General, that hole was likely to be filled by the enemy. The military vacuum-complex is now haunting the mind of those who believe in the strength of the army to suppress the popular movement.

The Sultanate of Brunei holds an estimated US\$400 million in British Treasury Stocks managed by the Crown Agent. It is reported that the Sultanate of Brunei may withdraw her Sterling Security if Great Britain finally withdraws her Gurkhas troops from the Sultanate of Brunei; a political blackmail of strategic value.

It is only hope that nothing can ever change the socialist policy of the Labour Government to disengage herself militarily East of the Suez.

### **Appeal**

With mutual respect and understanding, we appeal, to the free nations of this association now essembled in Kingston, Jamaica, West Indies to offer counsel, on the principle of consultation and consensus, to Her Majesty's Government to take the realistic view that a Tripartite Conference be immediately convened between the three interested parties to work out a plan for the constitutional advancement of the Sultanate of Brunei.

We attest our signatures on behalf of the Central and Executive Committees of the People's Party of Brunei.

The Petitioners,  
Sir,  
Yours faithfully.

President,  
Haji A.M. Azahari.

Secretary-General,  
Jasin Affandy.  
(Legislative Councillor)

Acting  
Vice-President,  
Haji Zaini H. Ahmad.  
(Legislative Councillor)

Djakarta.  
17th March, 1975.

*The full text of the Communique issued after talks between the Commonwealth Secretary and the Sultan of Brunei, as laid down in the Legislative Council's Paper No. 4/65*

A series of discussions conducted by the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations with the Sultan of Brunei together with his advisers have now been concluded.

It had been agreed between Mr. Bottomley and His Highness at their talks last December that there should be further consultations between His Highness and the Commonwealth Secretary after the elections, in order to consider the next steps towards constitutional advance.

2. At the December talks, His Highness had informed the Secretary of State that elections would be held for the Legislative Council in March, 1965, and he also confirmed that a ministerial system of government would be introduced immediately after those elections and that elected members of the Legislative Council would then be appointed to the Executive Council and associated with the exercise of the executive and administrative responsibilities of his Government. The elections for the Legislative Council took place on March 20.

Since the elections, and before these talks, His Highness had not reached such conclusions as to enable him, in accordance with the communique on December 23, to appoint members of the legislative Council to be Assistant Ministers and thus to introduce the ministerial system. In the course of the present talks His Highness has informed the Secretary of State that he will appoint four Assistant Ministers and announce their names by June 7; and that these Assistant Ministers will include members who were elected to the Legislative Council on March 20.

3. In the joint statement issued on December 23, 1964 by Her Majesty's Government and the Sultan of Brunei, it was made clear that the intention exists that Brunei should proceed progressively towards full parliamentary democracy.

An important step towards this aim will be the reconstitution of the Legislative Council by way of increase of its elected membership from



ten to twenty members directly elected, the reduction of the ex-officio membership to the minimum necessary for efficient government, and the elimination of nominated membership.

Further, following the holding of the elections for the additional elected members, His Highness' Government will be reconstituted in such a way that the functions of the Executive Council will be placed in the hands of Ministers chosen from amongst the elected members and responsible for the conduct of the affairs of the State, whose responsibility it will be to formulate and carry out policies to secure the future well-being of the State and its people, and in the exercise of that responsibility, these Ministers will be answerable to the electorate.

This programme was announced by the Government of Brunei on August, 1964. His Highness has informed the Secretary of State that the new ministerial system about to be introduced is proved to be working satisfactorily. It is His Highness's intention to convene a Constitutional Conference in Brunei which would be attended by representatives of all sections of the community, including the elected members, so that recommendations can be made, of which H.M.G. will be informed as to the means whereby the changes referred to in the Brunei Government's statement of August 8, 1964 can be effected, it is hoped, well within the lifetime of the present Legislative Council.

His highness has also informed the Secretary of State that before this Conference is convened, he expects to have derived sufficient experience of the working of the ministerial system to be able, with confidence, to appoint one or more of the elected Assistant Ministers as full Ministers in the Council of Ministers.

During the course of these discussions, frequent reference was made to statements published in the past regarding the intentions of H.M.G. and the Government of Brunei in respect of constitutional advances in the State; and in particular the announcement by the Government of Brunei of 8 August, 1964, and the communique issued after the talks in London on 23 December, 1964.

The Secretary of State and the Minister of State indicated that in their view these statements of intention have raised among the electorate in Brunei, reasonable expectations of early advance to the stage of full responsible government.

H.M.G. consider that the momentum of constitutional progress, as forecast in those public statements should be maintained and therefore the Secretary of State and the Minister of State expressed their strong hope that all in Brunei would cooperate to ensure the successful working of the ministerial system, so as to enable the proposed Conference to take place at an early date.

**PARTAI RAKYAT BRUNEI**  
**(PEOPLE'S PARTY BRUNEI)**

PRB/DH/UNO/75.

17th. March. 1975.

His Excellency,  
The Secretary-General,  
United Nations Organisation,  
New York,  
U.S.A.

Your Excellency.

WE, on behalf of the Central and Executive Committee members of the People's Party of Brunei submit this PETITION to the world organisation with the view to solicit its support calling upon the British Government to grant immediate independence to the State of Brunei with the stipulation that the representatives of the People's Party of Brunei be entrusted to form the government.

The People's Party of Brunei was registered as a political party on the 20th of August, 1956. Within two months after its formation the party became immensely popular. It was the first political party to appear in the then British Borneo territory and played a dominant part in the nationalist movement there, fighting for the freedom and independence of the country.

In August, 1957 the party submitted a Memorandum to the then Colonial Secretary, Colonial Office. London seeking political changes in the constitutional structure of the state. To support the demand for constitutional advancement, the People's Party of Brunei sent a three-man 'Merdeka' Mission to London. The Mission had a futile discussion with the then obdurate Colonial Secretary who told them that the State of Brunei was not ready for independence yet. Provoked and frustrated, the Mission returned to Brunei with firmer determination to fight for the rightful and just cause of the people as laid down by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Submitting to the organised and continuous agitation of the People's Party of Brunei, the British Government responded by granting the

State of Brunei its first written constitution, the Constitution of Brunei 1959, which was promulgated on the 29th of September, 1959.

The Constitution of Brunei, 1959 provided for the establishment of a Legislative Council of thirty-three (33), 16 of whom were to be elected by adult suffrage. The election was to take place two years after its promulgation, that was, not later than the 29th of September, 1961.

The election was never held as scheduled. It was postponed by the Colonial Administration on grounds of some 'unavoidable circumstances'. The People's Party of Brunei protested against this delay.

Finally, on the 20th of August, 1962 the first ever general election was held. The People's Party of Brunei contested all 55 seats and won 54 in the District Council. The lone independent who won the remaining seat finally joined the party. The result was that, through a collegiate system, the People's Party of Brunei won all the sixteen (16) elected seats in the Legislative Council.

Under normal parliamentary system, the People's Party of Brunei should be invited to form the first elected government of the state... But, due to the undemocratic nature of the Constitution of Brunei, 1959, the party receiving 98% of the votes cast was thrown into the opposition bench. This had, of course, caused wide frustration among the population and distrust of the British Government.

Still adhering to the principles of parliamentary democracy, the People's Party of Brunei gave notice to move a number of motions at the first session of the Legislative Council scheduled to take place on the 5th of December, 1962. The Sultan, acting on the advice of the British High Commissioner (whose advice must be sought and acted upon) told the Speaker to reject the motions and postponed the meeting indefinitely.

Then highly provoked and inspired by the principles of self-determination, the peoples of Brunei, acting in the name of LIBERTY, JUSTICE AND HUMANITY, exercised their inalienable rights to proclaim their independence on the 8th of December, 1962 through popular revolution. Caught unprepared and in a state of political panic, the British Colonial Authorities retaliated by declaring

a STATE OF EMERGENCY throughout the State of Brunei. The People's Party of Brunei was banned and its leaders, including six (6) Executive Councillors, fifteen (15) Legislative Councillors, and thirty-three (33) District Councillors, were illegally arrested and detained without trial. Some 2,354 party members were wantonly arrested and detained. Even to-day, almost 14 years after the STATE OF EMERGENCY was declared, some 39 detainees are still being detained in the notorious Jerudong Prison, Brunei.

Alone outside Malaysia, Brunei tried, under the influence of London, to chart her own destiny. A series of constitutional discussions took place in London between the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs and His Highness the Sultan of Brunei. The outcome of the discussion was embodied in what was then referred to as THE WHITE PAPER NO. 4/65. Generally, the White Paper outlined the political consensus that Brunei should 'proceed progressively towards full parliamentary democracy. This was to be realised by the holding of a direct election to the newly constituted Legislative Council to be followed by the introduction of a ministerial form of government.'

The White Paper also outlined an undertaking by both parties to call 'an all party conference' to be attended by the representatives of the people, including their elected leaders, with the view to make recommendations for the gradual transfer of sovereignty to Brunei.

Although a general election was held in May, 1965, none of the principal items of the White Paper was ever carried out. The newly reconvened Legislative Council had only ten (10) elected members out of thirty-three (33), while none of them was ever appointed to be full minister and the promise of a 'ministerial government' was sabotaged.

Contrary to the spirit of the White Paper 4/65, when the five-year term of the reconstituted Legislative Council expired in May, 1970 the Sultan of Brunei, with the advice and consent of the British High Commissioner, suspended the Constitution of Brunei, 1959. By Royal Decree, government nominees were appointed to the Legislative Council, usurping the political rights of the people. The systematic strangulation of democracy in Brunei had begun.

On October 12, 1971, the Peoples Independent Front of Brunei, the Party that continued the struggle of the Peoples' Party of Brunei,

petitioned this Assembly of Free Nations, asking it to sponsor a REFERENDUM on the question as to whether the peoples of Brunei were ready for independence or not. This has reference to United Nations Working Paper No. A/AC. 109/PET. 1197 date 27th March, 1972.

This has resulted in the adoption of the United Nations Report of Sub-Committee II (A/AC.109/L.914) date 23rd of August, 1973. The British Government, of course, disclaimed any responsibility in the internal affairs of Brunei pointing to the fact that the Brunei Agreement, 1971 has given the State of Brunei the status of a fully self-governing state.

Notwithstanding the above fact, we still hold the British Government as being responsible for the state of affairs in the State of Brunei. We now beg to appeal to the Decolonization Committee of the United Nations to pass a RESOLUTION invoking Article 73 of the United Nations Charter to implement Resolution 1514 (XV) of 14th December, 1960. We further appeal that the Decolonization Committee of the United Nations pass a similar resolution censuring the British Government for not observing human rights and fundamental freedom as laid down by the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights and the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights by its continued detention of persons without trial at the notorious Detention Camp, Brunei.

To support this PETITION, we have the honour to request an audience with the General and Decolonization Committees of the United Nations during their next session.

Hereunto we attest our signatures in the name of Liberty, freedom and peace:

We beg to remain,  
the Petitioners.  
PARTAI RAKYAT BRUNEI

Signed

.....  
(A.M. Azahari Al-Haj),  
*President.*

Signed

.....  
(Jassin Affendi).  
*Secretary-General.*

Signed

.....  
(Zaini Hj. Ahmad Al-Haj).  
*Act. Vice-President.*

**PARTAI RAKYAT BRUNEI**  
**MANIFESTO POLITIK**  
**1975**

**BISMILLAH HIRRAHMAN HIRRAHIM.**  
**MUKADDIMAH**

Kami mengatitkan syukur kepada Allah s.w.t. yang telah memberikan bimbingan kepada Partai Rakyat Brunei sehingga saat ini masih tetap hidup dan dapat berjuang bersama-sama rakyat Brunei untuk menuju dalam perjuangan menegakkan kedaulatan Seri Baginda Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan Brunei dan kemerdekaan Negeri Brunei Darus-Salam.

Seperti juga halnya dengan setiap individu, partai-partai politik harus mempunyai pandangan yang jelas mengenai perkara-perkara yang bakal dilakukannya untuk menolong rakyat yang diwakili dan dipimpinnnya. Hal ini amat perlu, terutama di zaman yang penuh pertentangan idealoji sekarang ini, yang menyebabkan banyak rakyat kebingungan, idealoji manakah yang harus mereka terima dan dukung. Dalam suasana inilah, Partai Rakyat Brunei tampil kemuka, mempersembahkan suatu rencana politik sebagai landasan perjuangannya, bagi menegakkan sebuah pemerintahan, iaitu KERAJAAN BRUNEI.

Dua minggu sebelum Pemilihan Umum yang pertama diadakan di negara Kesultanan Brunei, dalam bulan Ogos, 1962 Partai Rakyat Brunei telah mengeluarkan Manifesto Politiknya. Manifesto Politik tersebut menekankan penglibatan perjuangan Partai Rakyat Brunei, yang tidak terbatas kepada kemerdekaan Brunei saja, tetapi juga secara menyeluruh untuk kemerdekaan tanah jajahan Sarawak dan Sabah dalam satu kesatuan yang dipanggil Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara. Manifesto Politik tersebut telah mendapat sokongan yang 100% dari rakyat. Ini terbukti dengan kemenangan majoritas Partai Rakyat Brunei di Pemilihan Umum itu.

Hampir satu setengah dekad Pemilihan Umum itu telah berlalu, dan telah banyak perubahan-perubahan politik yang mengambil tempatnya. Revolusi Bersenjata Brunei, Disember 1962 dahulu telah ditumpaskan oleh kekuatan tentera kolonial tanpa belas kesihan. Negara-negara jajahan Seri Ratu Inggeris Raya, Sarawak dan Sabah, telah memilih untuk menggabungkan diri dengan Federasi Malaysia.

Kesatuan Negara-Negara Asia Tenggara (ASEAN) telah lahir sebagai suatu tenaga politik di Tenggara Asia. Konsep Neutralisma untuk Asia Tenggara, seperti yang diuraikan oleh Yang Amat Berhormat, Tun Haji Abdul Razak, Perdana Menteri Malaysia, telah mendapat sokongan yang hebat dari semua pihak di dunia ini.

Sedikit misal dari perubahan-perubahan politik yang diutarakan tadi, telah menukar sama sekali corak politik Asia Tenggara hari ini. Atas pengaruh perubahan-perubahan politik yang radikal dirantau inilah, Partai Rakyat Brunei menyusun semula dan menyesuaikan konsep perjuangannya dengan harapan untuk dapat menggabungkan diri dalam gerakan-gerakan kerjasama serantau dan kedamaian umumnya!

MANIFESTO POLITIK ini lahir, adalah hasil dari suatu pendekatan dan pemikiran yang baru dari para pemimpin partai. Perjuangan kami kini ialah menentang Kolonialisma Inggeris dari tanahair kami dan pembentukan sebuah negara yang berdaulat di Kesultanan Brunei.

Bandar Seri Begawan,  
Brunei.  
1hb April 1975

## **BAHAGIAN 1**

### **MANIFESTO**

### **TUNGGALEKA**

#### **1. Negara**

Partai Rakyat Brunei akan berjuang bagi pembentukan sebuah KERAJAAN BRUNEI yang merdeka dan berdaulat dengan Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan Brunei menjadi Kepala Negara yang Berperlembagaan.

### **DWI TUNGGALEKA**

#### **2. Kedaulatan**

Kedaulatan Negara akan dipegang oleh RUKUN DWI TUNGGALEKA,



- i. Kedaulatan Undang-Undang akan dipegang oleh Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan dalam Majlis, dan
- ii. Kedaulatan Politik akan dipegang oleh Perwakilan Rakyat yang dipilih dan bersidang di Parlimen.

### **TRI SILA**

### **3. Ideologi Negara**

Ideologi Negara Kerajaan Brunei berasaskan kepada konsep Tri Sila:

- i. Keislaman.
- ii. Nasionalisma.
- iii. Demokrasi.

### **DEWAN NEGARA**

4. Badan Perundangan yang paling tinggi dalam Kerajaan Brunei ialah Parlimen yang mempunyai:

- i. Dewan Perwakilan Di Raja.
- ii. Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat.

Sebuah Dewan Kehakiman yang bebas juga akan dibentuk yang dikenali dengan DEWAN KEHAKIMAN AGONG.

### **BENDERA NASIONAL**

5. Bendera Nasional Kerajaan Brunei ialah TRI WARNA; MERAH, PUTIH DAN HIJAU TIGA SEGI.

Lebarnya ialah  $\frac{2}{3}$  dari ukuran panjangnya. Bahagian sebelah atas berwarna Merah dan bahagian sebelah bawah berwarna Putih, sementara warna Hijau berbentuk tiga segi yang berukuran  $\frac{1}{3}$  dari ukuran benderanya, terletak dibahagian hujung sebelah kanan bendera..

### **BAHASA NASIONAL**

6. Hanya BAHASA MELAYU yang akan dijadikan Bahasa Nasional dan Bahasa Resmi Kerajaan Brunei.

Penggunaan Bahasa asing dalam hubungan harian tidak dilarang.

## **AGAMA RASMI**

7. Agama Resmi Kerajaan Brunei adalah Agama Islam.

## **WARGANEGARA**

8. Kewarganegaraan setiap rakyat yang diakui oleh undang-undang ialah BANGSA MELAYU.

## **LAGU NASIONAL**

9. Lagu Kebangsaan Negara yang ada sekarang ini akan terus dipakai sebagai Lagu Nasional Kerajaan Brunei.

## **BAHAGIAN II**

### **(RANGKA PEMBANGUNAN)**

Partai Rakyat Brunei, apabila saja diamanahkan nanti untuk memegang teraju pemerintahan, akan terus memperjuangkan dan memelihara kestabilan politik, ekonomi, sosial dan kebudayaan negara.

Objektif Nasional ini akan dilaksanakan menurut:

- i. Rehabilitasi Politik.
- ii. Partisipasi Ekonomi.
- iii. Reformasi Sosial.
- iv. Renesansi Kebudayaan.
- v. Pembangunan Nasional.

## **REHABILITASI POLITIK**

Banyak rakyat Brunei yang telah gugur dalam perjuangan menentang kolonialisma Inggeris dan menerima akibatnya dengan kerelaan. Dengan kekuatan yang tidak seimbang, ketumbukan tentera upahan Gurkha telah menindas Revolusi Bersenjata Brunei Disember, 1962 dahulu dengan biadap dan kejam. Sudah hampir 14 tahun, Undang-Undang Darurat masih juga berjalan kuat kuasanya. Ini membolehkan pihak pemerintah kolonial di Kesultanan Brunei tanpa segan silu menekan sebarang pergerakan pembebasan rakyat dengan memenjarakan pemimpin-pemimpin tertinggi Partai Rakyat Brunei dikem-kem tahanan.

Dikemuncaknya Revolusi Bersenjata Brunei Disember 1962, seramai 2,342 orang anggota Partai Rakyat Brunei, termasuk beberapa orang wanita telah ditahan di beberapa buah kem tahanan yang sesak. Mereka yang akhirnya dibebaskan menerima syarat yang mereka tidak akan melarikan diri. Pun begitu, bekas orang-orang tahanan ini selalu saja menerima intimidasi politik yang tidak habis-habis.

Undang-Undang Darurat kini melangkah ketahun 14! Ini bermakna, tidak ada kebebasan bagi pergerakan sebarang partai politik. Undang-Undang Darurat yang memberi kuasa mutlak 'hidup atau mati' kepada anggota-anggota Cawangan Khas, bahagian dari Pasukan Polis Di Raja Brunei (dikepalai oleh seorang Inggeris) juga memberikan kesempatan yang paling sedikit kepada sebarang pergerakan partai-partai politik. Rakyat langsung tidak memberikan kesempatan untuk menentukan masa depan mereka.

Partai Rakyat Brunei, bukan saja setakat diharamkan dan terpaksa bergerak di bawah tanah, malah para anggotanya, sejak bulan Disember 1962 dulu, dicap sebagai 'pengkhianat'. Sesiapa saja yang cuba menghidupkan sebarang kegiatan politik atau menggabungkan dirinya dengan pergerakan-pergerakan serupa itu, nescaya akan menjadi perhatian pihak Cawangan Khas yang selalunya diekori dengan ketukan pintu ditengah malam.

Demokrasi bukan hanya sebagai satu sistem pemerintahan, tetapi juga sebagai satu cara hidup. Kelemahan kita masa depan tentunya akan bergantung kepada kegagalan kita untuk mengembalikan dan merehabilitasi semula kecintaan rakyat kepada politik di Kesultanan Brunei.

Oleh kerana kerajaan Brunei akan mewarisi satu sistem pemerintahan menurut hukum-hukum demokrasi, maka adalah tujuan utama Partai Rakyat Brunei untuk menggalakkan perkembangan kesedaran politik yang sihat di kalangan rakyat dengan menubuhkan partai-partai politik yang bebas dari sebarang ikatan perundangan dan pentadbiran.

Dasar Partai Rakyat Brunei adalah diasaskan kepada demokrasi. Maka sudah sewajarnya dicatitkan di dalam Perlembagaan Negara nanti supaya diadakan Pemilihan Umum tiap-tiap lima tahun sekali

yang berdasarkan kepada 'adult suffrage'.

Bagi menjamin kelahiran sistem dwi-partai, oposisi secara langsung atau tidak langsung akan digalakkan dan dikekalkan melalui persetujuan politik. Jika sekiranya tidak terdapat sebarang Partai Pembangkang atau anggota-anggota bebas yang duduk di Majlis Permesyuaratan Rakyat, maka Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan Brunei akan dinasihatkan oleh pemerintahan supaya melantik beberapa orang rakyat Baginda untuk duduk dikerusi oposisi. Mereka ini akan menikmati hak dan keistimewaan yang serupa seperti para anggota yang dipilih.

Partai Rakyat Brunei dengan sepenuhnya menerima konsep politik yang serupa kepemimpinan bersama 'collective leadership' sebagai teras demokrasi. Adalah suatu hakikat yang tidak dapat dinafikan oleh sesiapa jua pun, bahawa Kesultanan Brunei sekarang ini tidak mempunyai sebarang pemimpin nasional yang mendapat dukungan dan penghormatan rakyat kecuali pucuk pemimpin Partai Rakyat Brunei di dalam dan di luar negeri. Mereka yang mendakwa sebagai jurucakap atau penyelamat rakyat di Kesultanan Brunei adalah mereka yang terdiri dari alat-alat kolonial atau puak traditionalis yang lapuk. Daya berfikir dan harga diri mereka adalah korup semata-mata. Entah bagaimana mereka ini telah semula jadinya tidak mahu menerima pandangan orang lain hingga terlalu terdedah kepada cabulan politik. Mereka ini tidak ada pegangan, pendirian dalam politik dan yang penting sekali, mereka ini langsung tidak mendapat dukungan rakyat yang membolehkan mereka memimpin negara kearah jalan demokrasi yang lurus.

Hanya pucuk pemimpin Partai Rakyat Brunei merupakan suatu tenaga yang boleh memenuhi kehendak pemimpin bersama ('collective leadership') tadi. Pucuk pemimpin Partai Rakyat Brunei mempunyai imijinasi politik, perhitungan politik yang terlatih dan mencukupi serta mendapat sokongan rakyat sepenuhnya. Partai Rakyat Brunei berkemampuan mempersembahkan para pemimpin yang berkelibar, bertanggungjawab dan efektif sesuai dengan kehendak negara yang muda seperti Kerajaan Brunei.

Apabila saja nanti diamanahkan oleh rakyat untuk menjalankan pemerintahan negara, Partai Rakyat Brunei akan mengekalkan kebebasan berpolitik, hak sipil dan membayar ganti rugi kepada orang-orang tahanan yang telah ditahan dengan cara haram.

## **DASAR DALAM NEGERI**

Partai Rakyat Brunei tidak pernah menganuti sebarang pegangan yang merupakan suatu kelemahan kaum 'racial complex', kerana kita telah mengalami persoalan demikian di masa-masa yang lalu. Pendapat lapuk saja yang mengatakan orang-orang Melayu itu tidak berkebolehan untuk memegang jawatan-jawatan penting dalam pemerintahan dan semata-mata pendapat kolonial yang usang. Berpandukan kepada keyakinan inilah, Partai Rakyat Brunei akan mengawasi supaya orang-orang Melayu Brunei yang berpelajaran tinggi, berpandangan luas dan cintakan tanahairnya, harus segera dinaikkan pangkat yang sesuai dalam pentadbiran Kerajaan Brunei.

Rehabilitasi politik negara hanya akan dapat dijayakan dengan kerjasama sepenuhnya dari rakyat tanpa mengira status sosial mereka.

## **DASAR LUAR NEGERI**

Apabila saja mencapai kemerdekaannya, Kerajaan Brunei akan memohon menjadi anggota Persyarikatan Bangsa-Bangsa Bersatu dan lain-lain agensi internasional.

Kita akan menganut Dasar Luar yang Neutral dan Aktif. Menyokong penuh cita-cita 'Non-Alignment'.

Sebagai anggota Negara-Negara Kemakmuran Bersama, Kerajaan Brunei akan sentiasa memainkan peranan yang aktif, menyokong cita-cita kesatuan negara-negara bebas tersebut. Hubungan masa depan Kerajaan Brunei dengan Kerajaan Seri Ratu Inggeris Raya akan didasarkan kepada cita-cita tadi. Di samping itu, Kerajaan Brunei juga akan berpegang kepada prinsip tidak campur tangan dalam urusan hal ehwal dalam negeri para anggota.

Kerajaan Brunei juga menyokong sepenuhnya konsep Neutralisasi Asia Tenggara dan akan mengambil peranan yang aktif untuk perlaksanaan cita-cita tadi.

Kerajaan Brunei juga akan menggabungkan diri dengan Kesatuan Negara-Negara Asia Tenggara (ASEAN). Kita juga akan mengambil peranan yang aktif dan positif dalam bidang kerjasama serantau dan memberi sumbangan kepada kestabilan politik dan ekonomi rantau

ini.

Kerajaan Brunei mengakui hak mutlak rakyat Palestina bagi menubuhkan sebuah negara tanahair mereka. Kita juga menyokong sepenuhnya saudara-saudara kita Bangsa Arab yang sedang berusaha untuk mengembalikan kedaulatan di bumi Jerusalem. Kami mendesak pengunduran tentera Israel dari semua bumi Arab yang didudukinya tanpa syarat.

Sebagai sebuah Kerajaan Islam, Kerajaan Brunei akan menempatkan dirinya di bawah panji-panji Deklarasi Lahore dan menumpukan sepenuh perhatian kearah Persaudaraan Islam.

Kami juga menjunjung Deklarasi Bandung sebagai asas persaudaraan negara-negara Afro-Asia.

Kerajaan Brunei akan berpegang kepada prinsip dwi-asas bagi mencari penyelesaian sebarang konflik internasional yang melibatkan Kerajaan Brunei, iaitu konsultasi dan permufakatan.

## **PARTISIPASI EKONOMI**

Rakyat Brunei berada di bawah pemerintahan kolonial yang sudah lebih satu abad. Ianya bukan hanya penjajahan politik tapi juga penjajahan ekonomi. Hal ini menimbulkan kekecohan dalam perkembangan ekonomi rakyat. Situasi begini tentunya amat mengecewakan!

Hal ini begitu dirasakan oleh Partai Rakyat Brunei. Dengan penuh ketabahan (Insyah Allah) Partai Rakyat Brunei akan melancarkan suatu program ekonomi yang progresif.

### **a. Pertanian**

Di bidang pertanian, Partai Rakyat Brunei akan mendorong pengeluaran makanan utama demi memenuhi keperluan dalam dan luar negeri.

Cara pertanian yang moden dan saintifik akan digunakan bagi mendapatkan hasil pengeluaran yang tinggi. Program pertanian kita akan dilancarkan kepada tiga peringkat, iaitu:

- i. Langsung di bawah pengawasan pemerintah.
- ii. Di bawah perusahaan kerjasama.
- iii. Perusahaan perseorangan.

## **b. Perusahaan Desa dan Industri-Industri Ringan**

Perusahaan desa dan industri-industri ringan akan digalakkan. Adalah amat mustahak perkembangan industri-industri serupa ini dipimpin sesuai dengan kehendak kondisi negara.

Di bahagian ini, pemerintah akan menggalakkan industri-industri seperti:

- i. Industri perbalakan.
- ii. Pertenunan, bahan makanan dan lain-lain industri ringan yang membawa keuntungan ekonomi kepada negara, dan
- iii. Perikanan.

## **c. Dasar Kewangan dan Fizikal**

Ketika nilai matawang Sterling jatuh pada tahun 1967, Kesultanan Brunei telah mengalami kerugian sejumlah B\$140 juta dari nilai jumlah simpanan Sterlingnya. Pemerintah Brunei telah gagal dalam rundingan barunya dengan Pemerintah Inggeris bagi mendapatkan persetujuan jaminan seterusnya dari Kerajaan Pemerintah Inggeris (perjanjian lama berakhir pada 31hb. Disember, 1974). Pada awal bulan Mac, 1975, Sultan Brunei telah berkunjung ke London untuk tujuan yang sama, tetapi menemui kegagalan. Sekarang ini Sultan Brunei sedang menimbangkan untuk melabur Ringgit Minyaknya di tempat lain.

Partai Rakyat Brunei berpendapat, sebarang percubaan untuk melabur semula Ringgit Minyaknya dan di sebarang pasaran matawang, memerlukan satu kajian yang mendalam dan berpandu-an. Kesultanan Brunei mestilah lebih hati-hati supaya tidak menjadi mangsa pengkhianatan internasional dan menjadi gadaian dalam perjudian kewangan.

Demi untuk kepentingan nasional, Partai Rakyat Brunei akan

melabur Ringgit Minyaknya di negara-negara yang dapat memberikan keseimbangan nilai ekonomi dan politik sama. Pelaburan ringgit kita nanti akan didasarkan kepada dwi-keuntungan, iaitu politik dan ekonomi.

Dalam hal ini, pemerintah kita nanti akan membuat kajian pasaran matawang serantau, dan kalau ianya sesuai, kita akan melabur baki wang kita dengan semangat kerjasama ekonomi serantau dan kepentingan bersama.

Mengenai dasar dalam penglibatan ekonomi, kita akan memastikan adanya pelaburan baki wang kita diperbadanan umum. Tabung khas yang mencukupi akan disediakan untuk perbadanan tadi dengan tujuan yang tertentu bagi membiayai projek-projek umum dan kepunyaan orang-orang Melayu.

Semua perusahaan bersama (joint-venture) yang melibatkan permodalan yang besar akan dibuat oleh sebuah perbadanan umum bagi pihak rakyat Kesultanan Brunei.

#### **d. Perusahaan Bersama**

Bahan-bahan mentah yang belum diteroka seperti kayu kayan, galian, tanah liat, pasir kaca dan bahan-bahan lainnya seumpama itu, akan diusahakan jika ianya memberi keuntungan kepada ekonomi rakyat. Usaha bersama untuk eksploitasi bahan-bahan mentah tadi akan dikaji dengan teliti atas dasar sama-rata dengan pihak perkongsi, dan pengurusan tersebut akan dipegang oleh anak tempatan.

#### **e. Kerjasama Di Bidang Ekonomi**

Projek-projek indah akan dikaji semula dan sebarang kekurangan yang didapati akan diperbetulkan.

Zaman 'projek-projek bisai' sudah berlalu dan sekarang ini ialah zaman partisipasi ekonomi dan kerjasama.

Pembangunan ekonomi kita nanti akan disandarkan kepada kerjasama yang erat lagi sesuai dengan negara-negara jiran Sarawak dan Sabah.



## **REFORMASI SOSIAL**

Mengikut banci terakhir pada tahun 1973, Kesultanan Brunei mempunyai penduduk berjumlah 145,170. Di antaranya 45,239 orang masih berada di bangku sekolah.

Jumlah penduduk yang bekerja (working population) ialah 27,646. Bidang perusahaan memberikan 12,580 pekerjaan, perdagangan 7,437 dan pertanian 913. Lebihnya ialah perkhidmatan pemerintah dan lain-lain agensi.

### **a. Dasar Perburuhan**

.Dasar Perburuhan Kolonial hari ini jauh sekali dari dasar-dasar perikemanusiaan. Sebuah Dasar Perburuhan yang akan diterima oleh kedua belah pihak majikan (pemerintah) dan para pekerja akan digubal. Rakyat Kesultanan Brunei akan berhak untuk:-

- i. Menerima pencen untuk para janda dan anak-anak yatim para pejuang nasional, samada yang terlibat secara langsung atau tidak dengan TNKU, Tentera Nasional Kalimantan Utara,
- ii. Sara hidup untuk mereka yang cacat,
- iii. Sara hidup sosial kepada orang-orang tua yang berumur 50 tahun ke atas yang tidak berupaya melakukan sebarang pekerjaan, dan
- iv. Sara hidup khusus kepada anak-anak yatim biasa.

Partai Rakyat Brunei akan mengemukakan satu Dasar Perburuhan rebolusionair yang menjamin para pekerja mengenai hak asasi mereka berorganisasi sekerja, tawar-menawar kolektif, jaminan keselamatan pekerjaan mereka, mengambil bahagian aktif dan penuh di bidang pengurusan, insurensi kumpulan, sara hidup untuk pekerja-pekerja yang lanjut umurnya, malah kita akan menimbang-kemungkinan membahagikan keuntungan hasil dari titik peluh mereka, iaitu melalui insentif bagi untung.

### **b. Perkhidmatan Awam**

Sekarang ini, perasaan tidak puas hati menguasai pekerja-pekerja perkhidmatan awam, terutama mengenai hal-hal yang berhubung dengan kenaikan pangkat, samada di bahagian Ketenteraan, Polis atau Perkhidmatan Awam sendiri.

Partai Rakyat Brunei apabila memegang pucuk pemerintahan kelak akan mengkaji struktur gaji dan cara-cara kenaikan pangkat yang lebih adil dan saksama.

### **c. Rancangan Perumahan**

Manusia selalunya menghadapi masalah perumahan. Ini bukannya suatu perkara yang enteng, terutama di Kesultanan Brunei di mana masalah ini amat mendukacitakan, walaupun ianya merupakan sebuah negara yang kaya raya dengan penghasilan minyaknya.

Adalah menjadi objek pertama Partai Rakyat Brunei untuk memastikan yang setiap keluarga mempunyai sebuah rumah yang baik dan sederhana. Partai ini akan memastikan yang pemerintah kelak akan memberi kemudahan pinjaman yang membolehkan rakyat membeli rumah secara beransur-ansur.

### **d. Pembangunan Rohaniah**

Menunaikan Fardhu Haji ialah Rukun Islam yang ke Lima. Sebagai sebuah negara Islam yang berkemampuan, pihak pemerintah akan menyediakan tabung khas bagi orang-orang Islam yang akan menunaikan Fardhu Haji setiap tahun.

Pemerintahan kita kelak akan mengambil bahagian dalam penyebaran Agama Islam Sedunia dan akan aktif di bidang kerja-kerja amal dan kebajikan umum.

Kejayaan projek-projek sosial ini tentunya bergantung kepada kerjasama aktif dari rakyat seluruhnya dibawah semangat Gotong Royong.

Semua ini akan dibangunkan dengan kemahuan rakyat sendiri untuk memperbaiki keadaan sosio-ekonomi mereka melalui gotong royong, keyakinan dan kerajinan.

## **RENESANSI KEBUDAYAAN**

Kesultanan Brunei sedang menjalani tekanan sosial berikutan dengan pengaliran minyak negara itu. Kemajuan ekonomi yang begitu pesat dan cepat tentu sekali akan membawa suatu konflik kebudayaan terutamanya kepada para belia yang akan memikul tanggungjawab pemerintah di masa depan. Justru, dalam konteks ini, para belia haruslah dilengkapi dengan ilmu pengetahuan dan pelajaran.

Ilmu pengetahuan juga bertanggungjawab dalam kemajuan saintifik dan teknologi negara. Demi untuk mengejar ilmu pengetahuan tadi, maka perhatian yang sewajarnya akan ditumpukan.

Partai Rakyat Brunei akan berusaha sedaya upayanya untuk memastikan yang rakyat Brunei itu nanti terdiri dari rakyat yang intelek, bertanggungjawab, progresif dan rajin dalam semua bidang pekerjaan.

Allah tidak akan menukar nasib seorang atau sesuatu golongan itu kalau mereka tidak menukar nasib mereka sendiri. Dari itu, kalau seseorang atau sesuatu masyarakat itu mau mengubah nasib mereka, maka perkara yang penting sekali bagi mereka ialah melengkapkan diri mereka dengan ilmu pengetahuan dan kearifan.

Partai Rakyat Brunei akan memberikan seluas-luas kesempatan kepada rakyat Brunei untuk menyambung pelajaran mereka dari peringkat rendah, menengah dan tinggi, samada dalam atau keluar negeri, mengikut kebolehan masing-masing.

Walaupun terdapat dasar pelajaran percuma di Kesultanan Brunei sekarang ini, namun ianya adalah merupakan susunan pelajaran buatan kolonial. Partai Rakyat Brunei akan merobah dasar pelajaran hari ini terutama dasar-dasar yang melibatkan pelajaran aliran Melayu dengan mengkaji dan menyusun semula sistem persekolahan rendah, menengah dan tinggi. Sementara itu, aspek-aspek yang bersangkutan dengan kepentingan nasional dan perpaduan akan ditekankan, ini termasuk penggunaan Bahasa Melayu sebagai Bahasa Kebangsaan Kerajaan Brunei.

### **Pelajaran Peringkat Tinggi**

Sekarang ini, Kesultanan Brunei menawarkan biasiswa hanya kepada pelajar-pelajar yang hendak melanjutkan pelajaran ke Negara Sri Ratu Inggeris Raya, Kanada, Australia, New Zealand dan Mesir.

Pada halnya masih banyak lagi negara-negara lain yang menawarkan khidmat bakti mereka kepada kita. Dalam hal ini, Partai Rakyat Brunei akan menawarkan biasiswa kepada rakyat Brunei yang mahu melanjutkan pelajaran mereka ke negara-negara lain yang mahu menerima biasiswa kita.

### **Biasiswa**

Susunan Komite Biasiswa sekarang ini jelas tidak boleh menjalankan tugas yang diamanahkan kepada mereka dengan sempurna. Oleh yang demikian, Partai Rakyat Brunei akan menubuhkan sebuah Lembaga Biasiswa dan Pelajaran Nasional yang akan bersifat adil dan saksama.

### **Pelajaran Universitas**

Demi untuk membuka peluang pelajaran diperingkat universitas kepada pelajar-pelajar yang berkebolehan, sebuah instituit pengajian tinggi akan segera dibena. Instituit ini akan dikenali dengan nama Universitas Hassanah Bolkihah.

### **Pusat Kebudayaan**

Untuk memenuhi kehendak para belia kita, sebuah Akademi Seni juga akan ditubuhkan, di mana para belia tanahair kita akan berkesempatan meneroka bentuk kebudayaan bangsa dan bakat seni mereka.

Kedua-dua Universitas dan Akademi Seni ini akan dibuka kepada mereka yang berkelayakan dan berkecenderungan dalam Renesansi Kebudayaan Melayu khususnya dan Tenggara Asia umumnya.

Oleh kerana kebudayaan itu dianggap sebagai asas utama pembinaan negara, maka adalah menjadi kewajipan orang-orang Melayu untuk mengekalkan dan memuliakan nilai kebudayaan Melayu itu.

Demi untuk memelihara kebudayaan kita dan menjamin yang rakyat kita itu nanti tidak akan dipengaruhi oleh kebudayaan kuning, maka kebudayaan Melayu itu haruslah diubah dan disesuaikan dengan kebudayaan Islam. Dengan demikian, kebudayaan Melayu itu nanti dengan sendirinya akan dapat menolak sebarang perolahan yang kurang sopan dan dengan itu juga ia akan dapat membentuk keimanan Bangsa Melayu yang beragama Islam, lebih taat menurut ajaran Agama Islam, dan mencintai Nabi Muhammad s.a.w. Makanya, pelajaran agama Islam itu akan dijadikan suatu mata pelajaran yang wajib disetiap sekolah diseluruh Kerajaan Brunei.

Orang-orang Melayu di Kesultanan Brunei mempunyai hubungan kebudayaan yang erat sekali dengan kebudayaan orang-orang Melayu di Indonesia, Malaysia dan Filipina. Yang demikian sangat mustahak bagi Kerajaan Brunei nanti untuk menguatkan hubungan kebudayaan dengan negara-negara tersebut.

## **PEMBANGUNAN NASIONAL**

Dari tiga buah Empayar Melayu yang pada satu ketika dulu di abad ke Tiga Belas yang pernah menakluki Asia Tenggara, hanya Kerajaan Brunei sajalah yang berjaya menyelamatkan diri dan terlepas dari sebarang ancaman politik Imperialisma Barat. Daripada runtuh Empayar Majapahit, lahirlah Bangsa Indonesia, dan dari debu Empayar Melaka pula, tampil sebuah negara baru iaitu Malaysia. Oleh itu adalah menjadi matlamat Partai Rakyat Brunei untuk memungut dan membangunkan semula sisa-sisa Empayar Brunei itu.

Partai Rakyat Brunei merasakan pentingnya memberi penjelasan mengenai pendiriannya pada ketika ini, dalam rangka perjuangannya membentuk geopolitis Kerajaan Brunei yang dicita-citakan.

Partai Rakyat Brunei sudah lama mengakui kedaulatan Malaysia yang ujud pada 16hb. September, 1963 dulu. Partai Rakyat Brunei telah menggugurkan asas objek politiknya, iaitu memperjuangkan penubuhan sebuah negara kesatuan yang dikenali dengan Negara Kesatuan Kalimantan Utara. Apa yang dikehendaki oleh Partai Rakyat Brunei dalam perjuangannya kini ialah sokongan dan dukungan negara-negara bebas dari seluruh dunia bagi penubuhan KERAJAAN BRUNEI di bahagian daerah yang dikenali sebagai

KESULTANAN BRUNEI sekarang ini. Apabila saja negara kami diiktiraf sebagai sebuah negara yang merdeka dan berdaulat, maka kami akan dengan segera mengarahkan dasar negara kami menuju ke arah pembangunan nasional yang berasaskan Ideoloji Negara.

Penyatuan semua peringkat dalam masyarakat kita akan diutamakan dalam rangka memulakan pembangunan nasional yang berat ini. Tidak seorang pun yang akan ditinggalkan, besar atau kecil, lelaki atau perempuan, kaya atau miskin, tanpa penuh tanggungjawab dalam usaha kita bersama mencari pembentukan identiti nasional.

Di bawah naungan cahaya TRI SILA (sebagai ideoloji Negara), hak berpolitik dan sipil akan diberikan sepenuhnya kepada setiap rakyat Kerajaan Brunei, seperti yang ditentukan oleh undang-undang tertulis negara. Tidak seorang pun akan dilucutkan hak sipilnya dan hak-hak asasi, begitu pun tangkapan-tangkapan yang sewenang-wenangnya atas alasan pegangan, keturunan, jantina atau kepercayaannya. Kebebasan berorganisasi, memilik harta benda dan memilih sebarang pekerjaan adalah dijamin oleh undang-undang.

Sebagai seorang warganegara Kerajaan Brunei, seseorang itu diharapkan akan dapat menunjukkan taat setia yang tidak berbelah bagi kepada Ketua Negara, menjunjung dan menghormati Lagu Kebangsaan, memahami dan mengamalkan Ideoloji Negara. Dalam keadaan perang, sebarang ancaman dari luar, berlaku sebarang perbuatan khianat, maka adalah kewajiban setia warganegara Kerajaan Brunei untuk tampil ke muka mempertahankan negara.

Adalah menjadi kewajiban setiap warganegara untuk menghormati serta mempertahankan undang-undang negara. Tidak seorang pun yang lebih tinggi dari undang-undang. Keluhuran Undang-Undanglah yang akan menjadi jaminan perlembagaan institusi kita.

Dengan adanya mahkamah bebas, maka terjaminlah keadilan. Di samping itu, Mahkamah Bebas ini juga akan menjadi pelindung perlembagaan, kebebasan dan hak-hak asasi.

Dewan Negaralah hanya satu-satunya sumber kuasanya undang-undang dalam Kerajaan Brunei. Ianya menjadi pusat kedaulatan negara. Sementara itu Sultan akan menjadi lambang perpaduan

**negara dan hanya kepadanya kita menumpukan taat setia kita.**

**Dewan Kabinet adalah hamba kepada rakyat. Ia memegang amanah suci untuk mentadbir rakyat, untuk rakyat dan ia akan tunduk kepada kehendak bangsa.**

**Semua ini adalah rukun utama bagi negara kita. Maka di atas rukun-rukun tersebutlah kita akan mengasaskan negara baru kita.**

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
وَأَعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ اللَّهِ جَمِيعًا وَلَا تَفَرَّقُوا

رَبِّطُوا الْعَمَلُ إِلَى السَّيْلِ أَوْ إِلَى  
الْأَمَانَةِ الْعَامَّةِ  
عَلَى الْمَكْرَةِ

الرقم .....  
التاريخ ١٤ / ١٢ / ١٤٤١ هـ  
المرفقات .....

لمن يهيمه الامر

نقد لہم سعادة الاستاذ / ا . ازھری محمود رئيس عام حزب شعب بروناي  
الذي قدم الى طرفكم على رأس وفد خاص لشرح قضية شعب بروناي المسلم  
الذي يطالب بالاستقلال من ايدي الاستعمار البريطاني ويجاهد من اجل اقامة  
مملكة اسلامية في بروناي ذات سيادة كاملة .

والامانة العامة لرابطة العالم الاسلامي تشيا مع نهجها في مواصلة دعم الشعوب الاسلامية المناضلة من اجل استقلالهم تجسيد المعاني التضامــن الاسلامي ، فانها ترجو ان يحظى هذا الوند بكريم عنايتكم واهتمامكم لاجل انجـاح المهمة المنوطة به ، والله نسأل ان يوفق الجميع الى ما يحبه ويرضاه .

وتقبلوا فائق التحية والا حــــــــــــــــــــــرام،،

الامين العام  
محمد صالح الفزار

٢١





## **JOINT COMMUNIQUE BETWEEN THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF AAPSO AND THE PRESIDENT, PEOPLE'S PARTY OF BRUNEI**

On behalf of the Permanent Secretariat, AAPSO Secretary-General Mr. Yussef El Sebai received a delegation from the People's Party of Brunei, consisting of its President Mr. A.M. Azahari Mahmud Al-Haj, its Vice-President Mr. Zaini Haji Ahmad Al-Haj, and its Secretary-General, Mr. Jasin Affindi.

The two sides discussed and reviewed matters of common interests in the struggle of Afro-Asian peoples with specific reference to the bitter struggle of the people of Brunei during the last decade to which AAPSO has unreservedly supported ever since the party became a member organisation of AAPSO in 1960.

After having considered the political background of Brunei, the Secretary-General of AAPSO and the People's Party delegation consider it constitutionally desirable for a Tripartite Conference to be convened between the British Government, His Highness the Sultan of Brunei and the representatives of the People's Party of Brunei to work out a plan for the immediate transfer of political power to the peoples of Brunei in accordance with the UN General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960.

AAPSO was informed that the People's Party of Brunei had submitted a Memorandum to the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference recently held in Kingstom, Jamaica, asking the Conference to advise the British Government to hold such a Tripartite Conference.

AAPSO was also informed that another Memorandum has been submitted by the People's Party of Brunei to the Secretary-General of the United Nations Mr. Kurt Waldheim invoking Article 73 of the UN Charter and also the implementation of the UN resolution on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Peoples vide No. 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960.

In this context the Secretary-General of AAPSO appeals to all freedom loving peoples of the world specially the Afro-Asian members and the Arab country members of the United Nations to give their

moral and material support to the People's Party of Brunei in its just struggle against British colonialist.

In Brunei today there are many political detainees who have been in detention without trial for the last thirteen years. AAPSO demands the immediate and unconditional release of these political detainees.

Unless British Military forces which include Gurka mercenaries, are withdrawn from Brunei, there can be no peace in the region nor the neutralisation process be realised in South East Asia. AAPSO stands for the independence of Brunei joining the ranks of non aligned nations, completely free from foreign bases. Therefore AAPSO demands immediate withdrawal of British forces from Brunei, and fully supports the demands of the peoples of Brunei.

Both sides expressed joy and satisfaction on the great victory of Vietnamese people which is a lesson to imperialist and neo-colonialists that they can no longer suppress national liberation struggle.

The People's Party of Brunei strongly supports the struggle of the Palestinian people to establish an independent and sovereign state of their own. It urges the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Arab territories. The People's Party further extends its wholehearted solidarity to the liberation movements in Namibia, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Lesotho.

A.M. Azahari Mahmud Al Haj  
President, Peoples Party,  
Brunei

Youssef El-Sebai  
Secretary-General  
AAPSO

4. May. 1975.

## **ANNEX**

### **STATEMENT DELIVERED BY MR. A.M. AZAHARI, PRESIDENT, PEOPLE'S PARTY OF BRUNEI (PARTAI RAKYAT BRUNEI — PRB), BEFORE SUB-COMMITTEE II OF THE COMMITTEE OF 24 ON TUESDAY 15 JULY 1975**

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies and the distinguished members of the Sub-Committee.

On behalf of the People's Party of Brunei, my two colleagues, Mr. Haji Ahmad Zaini, as Vice-President, and Mr. Jassin Affendi, the Secretary General of the Party, I wish, first of all, to record our gratitude and salutations to you, Mr. Chairman, and the other distinguished members of the Committee for having so kindly extended us the invitation to appear before this deliberative body of the United Nations.

Our presence before you all is indeed an historic occasion in the just and legitimate struggle of the people of Brunei against colonial domination and exploitation by British imperialists. This is indeed the first time that our people have been able to raise their voice in the sacred halls of the United Nations against the inhuman and barbarous atrocities committed by that colonial Power in its determined effort to liquidate all true and legitimate expression in favour of independence and to perpetuate its evil hold over our beloved country. We come before you full of hope and of high expectations that our struggle will have your strong support and sympathy and hasten the end of colonial rule in Brunei.

We have greatly admired the work of your Committee which has in the past opened its doors to our brothers, the great and valiant freedom fighters in Asia, Africa and Latin America. How happy they must be now to be enjoying the fruits of their victorious struggle at this hour of independence, won after long and arduous struggle against imperialistic forces. The strong support, both material and moral, given by the United Nations and especially the Committee of 24, was an added source of strength to these heroic fighters. We in Brunei also have similar faith in you all and in the United Nations and are confident that after you have heard us you will agree that what you have been so far told by British imperialists about Brunei are blatant lies calculated to deceive you and the world community.

The very presence of my two brothers and myself is a testimony to what our people are going through under British colonial rule in Brunei. My colleagues, including the two now sitting by my side, were imprisoned for over 10 years and during this time endured every form of human torture and suffering in flagrant violation of the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. They were treated not as political prisoners, but as criminals, made to sit on blocks of ice, beaten, put in solitary confinement for 15 months and denied all access to their families and friends. Our only sin, if that you want to call it, was to express our desire to be free and independent. My brother, Jassin Affendi, would not have been here with us today had the bullet strayed a fraction of an inch closer to an artery in his leg. Their long imprisonment, long by any standards you care to mention, has been the sole reason why our voice has not been heard at the United Nations earlier. In fact even now, had they not escaped the clutches of the imperialists they would still be languishing in the prison in Brunei while the colonialists tried to pull the wool over your eyes about the true situation there. We are still, in their eyes, prisoners, but, God willing, with your support and encouragement, we look forward to returning to our homeland proud, free and happy with the message that our people have long been waiting to hear, the message that the fate of our country lies in our own hands and that we will shape our own destiny.

Mr. Chairman, the People's Party of Brunei was registered as a political party on 21 August 1956. In less than two month, the Party enrolled some 15,000 members consisting of labourers, farmers, fishermen and intellectuals. At its First National Congress, held in Kampung Kilanas, Brunei, on 21 March 1957, one of the many resolutions passed was to urge the British Government to introduce a system of ministerial government in Brunei. A resolution was also passed to empower the Executive Committee of the People's Party of Brunei to prepare and submit a memorandum to the Colonial Secretary in London in order to effectively achieve this national objective. Subsequently, a constitutional lawyer of international repute, the late Mr. Walter Raeburn, Queen's Counsel, was engaged and invited to Brunei. He came to Brunei in April 1957, after having thorough discussions with the executives of the Party, meeting high-ranking government officials, including the British Resident, and having an audience with His Highness the Sultan of Brunei; The

late Mr. Walter Raeburn, Q.C. prepared a memorandum for submission to the then Colonial Secretary in London.

In September 1957, the People's Party of Brunei sent a three-man delegation, consisting of my present colleagues and myself, to London with a view to having a frank discussion with the then obdurate Colonial Secretary on the substance of the memorandum submitted five months earlier.

Informal meetings were held between the then Colonial Secretary and ourselves. Frank views were exchanged though no specific agreement was reached. The meeting ended in total failure. We failed to get any political concession from the British Government, less still get the status of full internal self-government for Brunei. Frustrated, yet determined to fight for our freedom, the delegation returned to Brunei empty-handed, a common feature then in the struggle of the national liberation movements throughout the colonies, but with firmer determination to fight for the rightful and just cause of the people.

At the insistent demands and agitation of the People's Party of Brunei, the British Government granted us our first written constitution in 1959. The Constitution of Brunei, 1959, provided for the establishment of a Legislative Council of 33 members, 16 of whom were to be elected by adult suffrage. The election was to take place two years after its promulgation, in other words, not later than 29 September 1961. The election was never held as scheduled. It was postponed by the colonial administration on grounds of some "unavoidable circumstances". The People's Party of Brunei protested against this delay.

Finally, on 20 August 1962, the first general election was held. The People's Party of Brunei contested all 55 seats and won 54 in the District Councils. The lone independent who won the remaining seat finally joined the Party. The result was that, through a collegiate system, the People's Party of Brunei won all 16 elected seats in the Legislative Council and received 98 per cent of the votes cast.

The first meeting of the semi-elected Brunei Legislative Assembly was scheduled to take place on 5 December 1962. The People's Party of Brunei, through its elected representatives in the Legislative Assembly, submitted a number of motions for the deliberation and consideration of the body. One of the motions was to empower Peo-

ple's Party of Brunei to represent the aspirations of the people of Brunei in the United Nations. The proposed motion was submitted to the Assembly by my brother, Jassin Affendi. The details of this motion are attached to my statement, which is being circulated. This motion caused much displeasure to the Colonial Secretary in London. Realizing that the motion would be carried, since the Party had 16 elected members in the Legislature against 17 nominated members, including one to represent Brunei Shell Petroleum Company Limited and one from the Chinese community who would vote neither for the Government nor the Party, the British colonial authorities in Brunei, through the British High Commissioner, advised the Sultan of Brunei to instruct the Speaker, who was a Government nominee, to reject the motion and postpone the proposed meeting of the Legislative Assembly *ad infinitum*. It is to be noted that, under the Agreement of 1959, His Highness the Sultan of Brunei must accept and act upon the advice of the British High Commissioner.

Frustrated and provoked, the people of Brunei, acting through their legally elected representatives, exercised their inalienable rights to self-determination, independence and freedom by declaring their independence unilaterally through popular revolution on 8 December 1962.

Taken by surprise and in a state of total panic, the British colonial authorities in Brunei, again through the British High Commissioner, advised the Sultan of Brunei to declare a State of Emergency on 12 December 1962. This was followed by the immediate arrival in the State of occupying British imperialist forces and mercenaries, numbering 10,000 at the height of the revolution, which marauded and killed many innocent and defenceless people. The People's Party of Brunei was banned. The occupying British imperialist forces also indiscriminately arrested and detained thousands of Party members, including six Executives Councillors, 15 Legislative Councillors and 33 District Councillors. At one time, some 2,342 party members were detained without trial in over-crowded barracks, reminiscent of the notorious Black Hole of Calcutta and Hola Camp of Kenya, and were subjected to barbarous form of punishment. The leaders were confined in maximum security "dark cells" for months in iced rooms and underwent genital tortures and intensive interrogations. Even, today, almost 13 years after the Brunei Revolution of 8 December 1962, there are still 36 political detainees in the infamous Jerudong

Prison House, but on 12 July 1973, 10 of our patriots, eight of them leaders, including the two sitting by my side now, succeeded in escaping from British detention camps and are now living in political asylum in Malaysia.

Distinguished members of the Committee will note that our desire to be rid of the shackles of colonialism was ruthlessly suppressed by the imperialists, who used the whole might of the British army - over 10,000 white British troops and mercenaries, as I said just now - in a country where the population was then only about 115,000. On the other hand, the same Government continues to refuse to take effective measures to bring down the illegal racist minority regime of Ian Smith in complete defiance of United Nations resolutions and world opinion.

After murdering countless numbers of innocent people and arresting and imprisoning all the elected leaders of the People's Party of Brunei, the British Government now tries to hide its bloody hands and shift criminal responsibility on to the innocent shoulders of His Highness the Sultan of Brunei under the pretext of the Agreement of 1971, which has purportedly granted the Territory "full internal self-government."

We would like to emphasize that, despite British claims that Brunei is self-governing, there are no, and I repeat, no political parties existing in Brunei today. The Government is in fact run by the British. British officers hold key positions in the Administrative Service of the State. For Example, the Attorney-General is a Englishman and the State Financial officer is an Englishman; so are the Director of the Special Branch, the Commanding Officer of the Brunei Royal Malay Regiment, the Director of Education, the Director of Telecommunications, the Director of Agriculture, etc. We are circulating a full list of these officials so that the world can expose the lie that the British authorities have no responsibility for Brunei.

The imperialist Government has also conveniently failed to emphasize the fact that it is still responsible for the external affairs and the defence of Brunei under the Brunei Agreement of 1959, as amended by the Agreement of 1971. This new agreement was the result of constitutional discussions between the representatives of the imperialist Government and the traditional ruler, His Highness the Sultan of Brunei. The people of Brunei were not represented at all. How can we then agree to an Agreement to which the people of Brunei

were not a party and in the drawing up of which they had no say? This Agreement was made under political duress for the sole purpose of perpetuating colonial rule and interests. No amount of legal manipulation can negate the international obligations of the imperialist Government, particularly in regard to the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), Article 73 (e) of the United Nations Charter, and General Assembly resolution 3159 (XXVIII).

Through its colonial agents, the serving British officers in Brunei Administrative Service, especially the Head of the Special Branch, the Commanding officers of the Brunei Royal Malay Regiment, the Attorney-General and the mercenaries, the colonial authorities in Brunei continue to carry out campaigns of terror and to intimidate and suppress the supporters of the People's Party of Brunei in the State. Arrests and threats of arrests are still being made wantonly. A malicious campaign against the integrity of the exiled leaders of the Party is being conducted in an unprecedented manner and an organized conspiracy to neutralize the political activities of the exiled leaders is being pursued with the co-operation of foreign agents.

Distinguished members of the Sub-Committee may be aware that a petition was sent to the Sub-Committee on Petition by the Brunei People's Independent Front in 1972. The Sub-Committee, at its 171st meeting on 17 March 1972, decided to circulate the petition, which spoke of the intentions of the British imperialist Government to hold elections and introduce a ministerial form of Government and proceed progressively towards full parliamentary democracy. The petition also accused the imperialist of preventing the Brunei Government from offering the people of Brunei the right to live and govern the country by themselves. It also stated that the continued presence of British colonialism would encourage the Government of Brunei to shelve parliamentary democracy and that the British would not want to leave Brunei as long as they could benefit from their interference in the administration of Brunei.

Incidentally, the leaders of this party were former members of the People's Party of Brunei and this party has also suffered the same fate as our party. As I said just now, there are no political parties in Brunei. Political parties are completely banned. No leader who dares to speak loudly on behalf of his people has emerged. The real leaders are those who are now living in forced exile and some who are still



languishing in the colonial prison camps in the country, suffering from the daily beatings of prison warders. There is no military threat to Brunei, but the country is still being ruled under martial law, which has been in existence since 1962.

The reasons for the reluctance of the imperialist Government to abandon its pernicious foothold in our country are not far to seek. The well-known multinational corporation, the British Shell Petroleum Company, is accumulating immense profits from its daily production of oil. Our country only gets 30 per cent in daily production, which is annually estimated at about \$1 billion. At the same time, Shell is investing heavily in the liquefied gas industry. This industry is producing \$B 43.00 every second. Twenty per cent of the income of the Shell International Group is extracted from Brunei. This is the main reason why Brunei is still maintained as the last preserve of colonialism in South-East Asia. What the colonial authorities are now doing is to increase the daily production of crude oil, which is 230,000 barrels per day, and of liquefied natural gases to meet the demand of the so-called Western industries. Brunei is being turned into a secure and protected oil supply base to meet the oil needs of some of the countries of the developed world. In short, Brunei will continue to serve as the supply line of Western industrialized nations. It will play the role of a colonial territory assigned to ensure the continued supply of the world's most strategic raw material to maintain Western capitalism. Oil concessions and natural gas rights were granted to Shell and the Mitsubishi Group in 1971 on most favourable terms and it is estimated that within a period of a decade, Brunei will ship natural gas to the value of some \$US 6 billion to Japan and the Western world. There never has been an attempt to start a petrochemical industry in Brunei, although world demand for ethyl alcohol, propylene, butadiene and para-xylene is increasing.

Never in the course of our history has there been such gross exploitation of our national wealth, that is our surplus funds from the income of oil. From the attached schedule of the countries and public corporations in which our surplus funds have been invested since 1952\*, the distinguished members of Sub-Committee will not find it difficult to see the degree of exploitation from which Brunei was, and still is, suffering. The surplus funds have been invested at the recommendation and on the approval of the State Financial Officer, an Englishman. From the rate of interest chargeable yearly and the places where the funds have been invested,

it can be clearly seen that our funds have not been invested with the interests of the people of Brunei in mind but purely to serve colonial and capitalist interest. At a time when the developing countries of the world are in need of capital investment and are willing to pay interest at world rates, Brunei is in a position to offer assistance to its compatriots in the developing countries rendered helpless for the simple reason that it is still a colony of the imperialist Power and its natural resources are being plundered and squandered by that Power. The investment of our surplus funds in ailing British industries is living testimony to the fact that Brunei is bonded to the colonial and capitalist chain. During the pound crisis of 1967 when British sterling was devalued, Brunei lost 14 per cent worth of its sterling security, amounting to \$US 61 million.

Various prestige projects of no immediate necessity are being prepared, on the recommendation of British officers without much study, adopted and implemented, bringing unprecedented margins of profit to the British-based companies. A deep sea port at the town of Muara was built at a cost \$US 20 million, but there was hardly a sea-going liner or cargo ship of significant tonnage even making a weekly call at the port. The Brunei international airport, which cost almost the same amount of money, is used by only one weekly service of an international airline, (BOAC, of course), plus three regional airlines which call daily. As a matter of fact, the Brunei international air-port was built to provide service to the British Royal Air Force and acts as a logistical support to the chain of British air bases in South-East Asia.

Although there is hardly any reason to immortalize Churchill, the colonial authorities have built a Churchill Memorial Hall in the heart of Brunei Town, at a cost of some \$US 2.2 million. This is hardly justifiable when a general hospital, a stone's throw from the building, is grossly overcrowded and in need of modern equipment and qualified staff. Moreover, Brunei does not lack national heroes to be remembered and immortalized. There is our national hero, Bulkiah I, who once ruled over the whole island of Borneo and the Southern Philippines. The Churchill Memorial Hall is but the symbol of the cultural and imperialistic subjugation of Brunei by imperialist Great Britain.

Mr. Chairman, the People's Party of Brunei has been leading the struggle for the independence of the people of Brunei since 1956. In

fact the struggle began in 1948. In other words, the people have been struggling for freedom and independence for the past 27 years. The people of Brunei have shown that they have been extremely patient. Colonialism has denied them the right to freedom and independence. British colonialism has denied the people of Brunei the right to form a government of their own choice. We appeal to the conscience of the world, especially to those who uphold the freedom and the right to independence of colonial people. We seek deeds not words. The people of Brunei share the aspirations of all subjected people in the world. The people of Brunei aspire to be members of an independent State so that we can occupy our rightful place in the United Nations. The people of Brunei do not seek much; all we ask for is recognition of our right to be an independent and sovereign nation, our right to self-determination so that we can establish our own constitutional government based on parliamentary democracy.

The Sub-Committee, Mr. Chairman, has an historic role to play in our struggle and we sincerely hope that our appearance before you is not in vain. Our party, which is the sole legitimate representative of the oppressed people of Brunei, earnestly calls upon you and the other distinguished members of this Committee to give your strong support to our quest for independence. I invite this Committee to reaffirm the inalienable rights of the people of Brunei to self-determination and independence, in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, and to call upon the administering Power to take immediate measures to transfer all powers to the people of Brunei, without any conditions or reservations, by holding a general election in Brunei under the supervision of the United Nations.

Further, I urge this Sub-Committee to call upon the administering Power to hold a tripartite conference between the administering Power, the Sultan of Brunei, and the legitimate representative of the People's Party of Brunei with a view to working out the measure I have just mentioned.

I further urge this Sub-Committee to reaffirm and endorse the Proclamation of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence of Brunei by the People's Party of Brunei on 8 December, 1962 and to render moral and material support to the People's Party of Brunei in its fight against British Colonialism.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, on behalf of my two colleagues, the

People's Party of Brunei, and the freedom-loving people of Brunei, I express the fervent hope that the deliberations of this Sub-Committee, under your wise and able Chairmanship, may mark a new era in the history of our national struggle and a new landmark in our quest for peace, justice and liberty.

**UNITED NATIONS  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

**PROVISIONAL  
A/AC. 109/SC.3/SR.241.  
22 July 1975**

**ORIGINAL: ENGLISH**

**SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD  
TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE  
GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES  
AND PEOPLES**

**SUB-COMMITTEE II**

**PROVISIONAL SUMMARY RECORD OF THE TWO HUNDRED  
AND FORTY-FIRST MEETING**

**Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Tuesday, 15 July 1975, at 3.30 p.m.**

<b>Chairman</b>	<b>Mr. KOUAME</b>	<b>Ivory Coast</b>
<b>Later:</b>	<b>Mr. LASSE</b>	<b>Trinidad and Tobago</b>
<b>Rapporteur:</b>	<b>Mr. GHAFURZAI</b>	<b>Afghanistan</b>

**CONTENTS**

**Brunei**  
**Gilbert and Ellice Island, Pitcairn and the Solomon Islands**  
**(continued)**  
**New Hebrides (continued)**  
**United States Virgin Islands (continued)**  
**American Samoa and Guam (continued)**

**BRUNEI (A/AC. 109/L.1021)**

**The Chairman** said that, at its 999th meeting, the Special Committee had decided to grant a hearing to the People's Party of Brunei (Partai Rakyat Brunei — PRB) and that a petition on behalf of

PRB had been circulated in document A/AC. 109/PET. 1259. He informed members that Mr. Jassin, Mr. Azahari and Mr. Zaini, who were respectively the Secretary-General, the President and the Acting Vice-President of PRB, were present at the meeting and were ready to be heard by the Sub-Committee.

**At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Jassin, Mr. Azahari and Mr. Zaini (People's Party of Brunei) took places at the Sub-Committee table.**

**Mr. AZAHARI (People's Party of Brunei) made a statement.\***

**Mr. LASSE (Trinidad and Tobago) proposed that the statement just made should be reproduced *in extenso*.**

It was regrettable that no representative of the administering Power was present at the meeting. Since his delegation would like to hear some clarifications on a few of the points raised by the President of PRB.

Stressing the importance to the Sub-Committee's work of up-to-date and first-hand information, he welcomed the petitioners, whose presence at the meeting marked an historic occasion in the struggle of the people of Brunei to achieve self-determination. Some of PRB's requests were clearly reasonable, including the proposal that a tripartite conference between the administering Power, the Sultan of Brunei, and the legitimate representatives of the People's Party of Brunei should be held. Such a conference would provide an opportunity for dialogue concerning the future political status of Brunei. If, indeed, PRB had been registered as a political party since 1956, then the administering Power had not performed its duty of preparing the people adequately for independence.

**Mr. AL-MASRI (Syrian Arab Republic) said that the appearance for the first time of the representatives of PRB before the Sub-Committee was an historic event. The Government and people of the Syrian Arab Republic unreservedly supported the legitimate struggle of the people of Brunei for self-determination and control of their own natural resources. His delegation was confident that the international community would make every effort to assist Brunei to attain its independence. It had been gratifying to hear the representative of the United Kingdom state at the 217th meeting that "his Government would not stand in the way of independence for any**

of the remaining Territories (under its administration), should that be the wish of the majority of their people". His delegation trusted that the policy would be applied to Brunei, too, and that the necessary measures would be taken to transfer full powers to the people of Brunei.

**Mr. ARAIM** (Iraq) supported the proposal made by the representative of Trinidad and Tobago that the statement delivered by Mr. Azahari should be reproduced **in extenso**.

Welcoming the presence of the petitioners in the Sub-Committee, he said that Iraq had for some time supported the struggle of the people of Brunei for self-determination and independence. It considered the People's Party of Brunei to be the legitimate representative of the aspirations of the people of Brunei to free the people from the colonial yoke, and it would continue to support their struggle until they occupied their legitimate place in the world Organization.

The General Assembly had on several occasions affirmed the responsibility of the United Kingdom Government as the administering Power, and called upon it to take effective steps to see that rights of the people of Brunei to self-determination and independence were respected and implemented. His delegation had co-sponsored the relevant General Assembly resolutions in the belief that the United Kingdom Government should take effective steps to accelerate the process of decolonisation in the Territory.

His delegation hoped that the Sub-Committee would study the statement by Mr. Azahari and endorse the demands of the People's Party of Brunei, and that the United Kingdom Government would respond positively to the moderate demands of the People's Party and permit tripartite consultations to be held.

**Mr. BUDHIRAYA** (India) also supported the proposal of the representative of Trinidad and Tobago.

He wished to clarify one point: since Mr. Azahari had indicated that his party was the sole legitimate representative of the people of Brunei, perhaps some concrete proof could be given of the strength of that party. It was not clear why the United Kingdom Government, having announced its readiness to grant independence to any country if that was the desire of the majority of the people, made an exception

in the case of Brunei. Furthermore, he, too, felt that the representative of the administering Power was doing a disservice to the Sub-Committee by not being present at the current meeting.

**Mr. ZAINI** (People's Party of Brunei), replying to the questions put by the representative of India, said that PRB had received 98 per cent of the votes cast in the general election of 1962, which had been held on the basis of free adult suffrage, and that there had never any attempt to refute the claim that the leaders of the People's Party of Brunei were the legally elected representatives of the people. Should the administering Power wish to dispute their representation, it should hold a referendum or a general election under United Nations supervision, in which the leaders of PRB, now in exile, would be able to participate.

**Mr. JOLWONO** (Indonesia) said that Mr. Azahari had furnished valuable information in his statement and he therefore supported the proposal that his statement be reproduced *in extenso*.

It was regrettable that the administering Power deemed it unnecessary for its representative to attend the meeting of the Sub-Committee and to provide it with further information on the question.

Indonesia's support for the struggle for self-determination was well known and the petitioners should have no doubt that it would support the people of Brunei in their struggle.

**Mr. SALADO VILLACIN** (Cuba) endorsed the welcome extended to the delegation of the People's Party of Brunei and thanked Mr. Azahari for his statement. He expressed his delegation's full support for that Party.

**The CHAIRMAN** noted that the proposal made by the representative of Trinidad and Tobago that the statement of the petitioner should be reproduced *in extenso* would entail financial implications of which the Secretariat would provide details at the following meeting. He accordingly suggested that a decision on the proposal be postponed until then.

**It was so decided.**

**The CHAIRMAN** said that the discussion of the question of Brunei would be continued at the following meeting.

**Mr. Jassin, Mr. Azahari and Mr. Zaini withdrew.**



## **CHAPTER XX BRUNEI**

### **A. CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE**

1. At its 993rd meeting, on 18 February 1975, the Special Committee, by approving the seventy-fourth report of the Working Group (A/AC. 109/L.9933), decided, *inter alia*, to refer Brunei to Sub-Committee II for consideration and report.
2. The Special Committee considered the item at its 1018th meeting, on 19 August.
3. In its consideration of the item, the Special Committee took into account the provisions of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, including in particular resolution 3328 (XXIX) of 16 December 1974 on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence of Colonial Countries and Peoples. By paragraph II of this resolution, the Assembly requested the Special Committee "to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV) in all Territories which have not yet attained independence and, in particular, to formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism and to report there on to the General Assembly at its thirtieth session". The Special Committee was also guided by the consensus adopted by the General Assembly on 13 December 1974 whereby the Assembly decided to request the Committee "to continue to consider this question and to report thereon to the Assembly at its thirtieth session."
4. During its consideration of the Territory, the Special Committee had before it a working paper prepared by the Secretariat (see annex to the present chapter) containing information on developments concerning the Territory.
5. The Special Committee also had before it a written petition dated

20 March 1975 from Messrs. Daim and Gamany on behalf of the People's Party of Brunei, (Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB)), containing a request for a hearing (A/AC. 109/PET. 1259).

6. At its 999th meeting, on 14 May, the Special Committee by adopting the one hundred and ninety-first report of the Sub-Committee on Petitions and Information (A/AC. 109/L.1009), decided, *inter alia*, to grant the above-mentioned request for a hearing. Statements were made by Mr. A.M. Azahari and Mr. Zaini Haji Ahmad of PRB at the 241st and 243rd meetings of Sub-Committee II, on 15 and 22 July (A/AC. 109/SC.3/SR. 241 and 243).

7. At the 1018th meeting, on 19 August, the Rapporteur of Sub-Committee II, in a statement to the Special Committee (A/AC. 109/PV. 1018), introduced the report of that Sub-Committee (A/AC. 109/L. 1052), containing an account of its consideration of the Territory (A/AC. 109/SC. 3/SR. 241-244).

8. At the same meeting, the Special Committee adopted without objection the report of Sub-Committee II and endorsed the draft consensus contained therein (see para. 10 below).

9. On 21 August, the next of the consensus was transmitted to the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations for the attention of his Government.

## **B. DECISION OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE**

10. The text of the consensus adopted by the Special Committee at its 1018th meeting, on 19 August, to which reference is made in paragraph 8 above, is reproduced below:

The Special Committee, having examined a petition concerning the situation in Brunei, 2/ and having heard the important statement 3/ made by Mr. A. M. Azahari, President of the People's Party of Brunei (Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB)), which, in the 1962 elections received 98 per cent of the votes cast, endorses the call by PRB for immediate tripartite talks between the administering Power, the Sultan of Brunei and PRB with the objective of fixing a

date for the independence of Brunei and the holding of free and democratic elections under the supervision of the United Nations, and decides, subject to any directives which the General Assembly might give in that connexion at its thirtieth session and taking into account the results of the consultations between its Chairman and the administering Power concerned, to continue consideration of this question at its next session with a view to the implementation of resolutions 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

# **UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

Distr.  
LIMITED

A/AC. 109/L. 1052  
14 August 1975

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

## **SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES**

### **REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE II**

**Rapporteur:** Mr. Abdul Rehim GHAFURZAI (Afghanistan)

#### **BRUNEI**

##### **A. Consideration by the Sub-Committee**

1. The Sub-Committee considered the Territory of Brunei at its 241st to 244th meetings, between 15 and 24 July 1975 (see A/AC. 109/SC.3/RS. 241-244).
2. The Sub-Committee had before it the working paper prepared by the Secretariat (A/AC. 109/L. 1021), as well as a petition from the People's Party of Brunei (Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB)) contained in document A/AC. 109/PET. 1259.

##### **B. Adoption of the report**

3. Having considered the situation in Brunei and having heard statements by the petitioners, Mr. A.M. Azahari and Mr. Zaini Haji Ahmad, President and Vice-President of PRB, the Sub-Committee adopted the present report at its 244th meeting on 24 July 1975.

### **C. Decision**

4. The Sub-Committee submits the following consensus for adoption by the Special Committee:

The Special Committee, having examined a petition concerning the situation in Brunei 1/, and having heard the important statement 2/ made by Mr. A.M. Azahari, President of the People's Party of Brunei (Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB)), which, in the 1962 elections received 98 per cent of the votes cast, endorses the call by PRB for immediate tripartite talks between the administering Power, the Sultan of Brunei, and PRB with the objective of fixing a date for the independence of Brunei and the holding of free and democratic elections under the supervision of the United Nations; and decides, subject to any directives which the General Assembly might give in that connexion at its thirtieth session and taking into account the results of the consultations between its Chairman and the administering Power concerned, to continue consideration of this question at its next session with a view to the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

**STATEMENT DELIVERED BY MR. A.M.AZAHARI,  
PRESIDENT, PEOPLE'S PARTY OF BRUNEI, BEFORE  
THE FOURTH COMMITTEE AT THE 30TH SESSION OF  
THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, NEW YORK,  
13th NOVEMBER, 1975**

Madame Chairman,  
Distinguished members of the Fourth Committee,

On behalf of myself and my two colleagues and the members of the People's Party of Brunei, I wish to thank you all for giving us the opportunity to appear before you to present our case in the hope that you will give us your full and unreserved support in the just and legitimate struggle of the people of Brunei against colonial domination and exploitation.

2. This is the second time we have appeared at the United Nations to raise the voice of the people of Brunei against the injustices perpetrated by the British colonial administration in Brunei and to seek your support for the freedom and independence of our country. Our cause is a just one and one that you have fervently and consistently supported and upheld since the inception of the United Nations. We feel confident, therefore, that you will view our case with sympathy and understanding and will exert every effort to see that the presence of colonialism in our country in whatever form or manifestation is terminated and that our people are free to chart their own destiny.

3. Allow me to begin by giving you a brief history of the People's Party of Brunei and the political developments that took place in my country since our party was registered in August, 1956. The Party drew support of the people from all walks of life, ordinary workers, fishermen, farmers and intellectuals. The Party from its very inception had begun to work towards one legitimate objective — namely, independence for Brunei. At the first Nasional Congress in Kampung Kilanas, Brunei, on 21st March, 1957, the Party called upon the British Government to introduce a system of ministerial government in Brunei as a first step towards full internal self-government leading to independence. The matter was taken up with the British Authorities when in September, 1957 my two colleagues and I were delegated by our Party to go to London for further consultations with the Colonial Secretary. The talks ended in

failure because the British were not prepared to make any political concessions, much less grant Brunei full internal self-government. We returned to Brunei empty-handed and frustrated but nevertheless more determined than ever to seek the transfer of sovereign power to the people of the Sultanate of Brunei.

4. In order to placate the Party, the Colonial Authorities granted us the first written Constitution in 1959. Elections were promised two years after the promulgation of the Constitution — that is, by 29th September, 1961. However, the promise was never kept and for some dubious reason styled “unavoidable circumstances”, the elections were postponed. Our Party protested against this delay. Finally, when the first general elections were held on 20th August 1962, the People’s Party of Brunei contested all the 55 seats and won 54 in the District Councils. The lone independent candidate who won the remaining seat later joined the Party. The result was that, through the collegiate system, the People’s Party of Brunei had won all the 16 vacant seats in the Legislative Council and received 98% of the votes cast. This fact was recognised in the Consensus that was adopted by the Special Committee when it considered the question of Brunei at its July meeting this year.

5. One of the very first motions that was submitted by our Party for consideration by the newly elected Legislative Assembly was to empower our Party to represent the aspirations of the people of Brunei in the United Nations. The British Authorities who were determined to maintain their hold over our country advised the Sultan of Brunei to instruct the Speaker, a Government nominee, to reject the motion and he accordingly postponed the proposed meetings of the Legislative Assembly *ad infinitum*. I would like to explain one very important point and that is under the 1959 Agreement His Highness the Sultan was obliged to accept and act upon the advice of the British High Commissioner.

6. This gave rise to a feeling of widespread frustration, despair and distrust against the Colonial Administration. It was this colonial mala fide that forced the people, in exercise of their inalienable right to self-determination, independence and freedom, to declare unilaterally their independence through armed revolution on 8th December, 1962. The PRB had never considered or approved the use of violence as a means of achieving its ultimate objective. Ever since its formation

since 1956 the Party has always persistently insisted on peace and order as a pre-condition for an orderly process of decolonisation. You, Madam Chairman, and the other distinguished members of this Committee can well understand and appreciate the reasons that motivated us to that course of action. The revolution marked a new phase in our struggle and demonstrated the extent to which the people of Brunei were prepared to make sacrifices for their right to freedom, justice and liberty. We believe that the Brunei Revolution of 8th December, 1962 was entirely justified and that it should also retrospectively be endorsed by all freedom loving people.

7. The answer of the Colonial Administration to the Declaration of Independence was predictable. They advised the Sultan of Brunei to declare a State of Emergency on 12th December, 1962 and brought in imperialist and mercenary troop numbering 10,000 at the height of the revolution causing great pain, suffering, death and destruction to many innocent and defenceless people. There were mass arrests of party members and the elected representatives of the people. They were detained without trial in over-crowded barracks, reminiscent of the notorious Black Hole of Calcutta and the Hola Camp of Kenya and subjected to barbarous forms of punishment. The leaders were confined to maximum security "dark cells" for months in iced rooms, subjected to genital tortures and intensive interrogations. They have been treated not as political prisoners but as criminals. Our people were subjected to every form of human torture and suffering in flagrant violation of the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. 36 of our compatriots are still being kept in preventive detention at the infamous Jerudong Prison. They have been kept there without trial since 1962. Newly arrested suspects are kept at the notorious Gadong Interrogation Centre which is staffed by gestapo-type interrogators adept at the latest techniques of mental and physical tortures. My two colleagues sitting by my side succeeded in escaping from these British camps. They were in prison for over 10 long years. My brother, Yassin Affendy, would not have been here with us, today had the bullet strayed a fraction of an inch closer to the artery in his leg. On behalf of all those who are still under detention and in the name of justice and humanity I earnestly solicit your support to urge the Colonial Authorities to immediately release them without prior conditions.

8. While our compatriots have been languishing in the detention



camps in Brunei, the Colonial Authorities are trying to pull the wool over your eyes about the true situation there. In a country where the population was then only about 115,000 the Colonial Authority brought in over 10,000 troops to ruthlessly suppress the people who were trying to rid themselves of the shackles of colonialism. The same Administration, it will be recalled, had refused to take effective measures to bring down the illegal racist minority regime of Ian Smith in complete defiance of United Nations resolutions and of world opinion.

9. Having carried out such atrocities and barbarous acts, the Colonial Authorities have the temerity to maintain the position that they are no longer responsible for the internal affairs of Brunei as, under the Agreement of 1971, they claim to have granted the territory "full internal self-government". However, let me enlighten you that despite British claims that Brunei is self-governing, there are no political parties in Brunei today, and no elected government. The Sultan was advised by the British to prorogue the Legislative Council in May 1970 and to suspend elections to the legislature. The Constitution itself had been suspended in December 1962. How can it be said then that there is full internal self-government in Brunei? Even the 1971 Agreement which the British Authorities quote so freely and which, the British claim, granted Brunei self-government, was negotiated by the British on the one hand and His Highness the Sultan on the other. The elected representatives of Brunei were completely ignored and the people were never consulted. Clearly, the Agreement was designed to legalise the illegal acts perpetrated by the British up to 1971. It was also designed to perpetuate colonial rule under a new guise. I would like to reiterate what I said in Sub-Committee II of the Special Committee of 24 in July 1975 that no amount of legal manipulation can negate the international obligations of the Colonial Authorities, particularly in regard to the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XXV) of 14th July, 1960, of Article 73 (e) of the United Nations Charter and the United Nations Assembly resolutions 3159 (XXVIII). It is indeed singularly unfortunate that the Colonial Authorities have adopted a negative attitude towards the right of the people of Brunei to self-determination and have adamantly refused to take part in the work of this Committee and the Committee of 24 on the question of Brunei.

10. Furthermore, I would also like to add that British officers are really running the Government in Brunei today. One has only to scan the list of heads of departments to see that nearly all of them are British officers. For instance, the Attorney-General is an Englishman, the State Financial Officer is an Englishman and so are the Director of Special Branch, the Commanding Officer of the Brunei Royal Malay Regiment, the Director of Education, the Director of Telecommunications, Director of Agriculture, etc. (full list of the British officers who serve as head of departments and privy councillors is attached).

11. The infamous State Security and Intelligence Unit is also under the direct control of a notorious British character. Arrests and threats of arrest are the rule of the day. The tempo of terror and the extent of the repressive measures have gained momentum lately, especially after the Committee of Twenty-Four unanimously endorsed the Consensus adopted by the Sub-Committee II on Brunei. In this campaign of terror, the Head of the Security and Intelligence Unit called upon leaders of the dormant People's Independent Front of Brunei to reactivate its activity and denounce the leadership of the People's Party of Brunei. This is a classic example of how a colonial power manipulates servile puppets to discredit elected and accredited leaders of the freedom movement. When the leaders concerned refused to cooperate in the treachery and positively demonstrated their support for the leadership of the People's Party of Brunei, they were threatened with preventive detention and confiscation of their properties. Next in the old game of divide-and-rule, the Head of the Security and Intelligence Unit called upon parole ex-detainees to organise a procession (supposed to be a public demonstration) carrying banners denouncing the leadership of the People's Party of Brunei in exile. This was done during the last birthday celebration of His Highness the Sultan of Brunei in July this year. According to one of the organisers, Mr. Misir Keruddin, an Executive Councillor and member of the Party in the previous Legislative Council who was detained since December 8, 1962, and released in December, 1974, the mastermind of the procession was none other than the British High Commissioner in Brunei himself. Mr. Misir Keruddin, who was released on parole and was on the payroll of the Security and Intelligence Unit, said in a statement to the foreign press that the parole ex-detainees were not informed of the motive of the procession until the very last moment when they had no time to disassociate themselves from the treachery. It is reliably learnt that even His High-

ness the Sultan of Brunei had apparently not been informed of the idea and had in fact expressed his displeasure in private. Mr. Misir Keruddin and two other parole detainees crossed the border to Limbang, Sarawak, on the 31st of August, 1975, and have now joined the leadership of the Party in exile. This treachery like all colonial treacheries, of course, met with total failure because the people of the Sultanate of Brunei could no longer be fooled by such tricks. The long protracted struggle against colonialism has turned them into a strong and progressive force.

12. The colonial agents have also attempted to poison the mind of the young Sultan into believing that the People's Party of Brunei has evil intentions. This I hasten to assure you is far from the truth. We have taken every opportunity to declare our undivided loyalty to the Sultan whom we recognise and respect as our traditional Ruler. We are also concerned at the attempts being made by these agents to sour the warm and brotherly relations our country enjoys with some of our neighbours. We take the opportunity to declare in this Committee that we have nothing but fraternal feelings for our neighbours and look forward to working with them as equal partners to make our region an area of peace, progress and stability when we achieve the cherished goal of independence.

13. Madame Chairman, it is not difficult to see why the Colonial Authorities are reluctant to leave Brunei. Twenty per cent of the income of the Shell International Group is extracted from Brunei alone. Our country only gets 30% in revenue from the total production of oil which this year is estimated at about seven billion Brunei dollars. At the same time, Shell is investing heavily in the liquefied gas industry which is producing B\$43.00 worth of gas every second. Oil concessions and natural gas rights were granted to Shell and the Mitsubishi Group in 1971 on most favourable terms and it is estimated that within a decade Brunei will be shipping some US six billion dollars worth of natural gas to Japan and other parts of the world. There has never been an attempt to start a petrochemical industry in Brunei, though world demand for ethyl alcohol, propylene, butadine and paraxylene is increasing.

14. In the wave of a speedy process of decolonisation all over the world the colonial power in Brunei has been intensifying its reavenous economic exploitation. From statistics recently released by the Department of Customs and Excise in the Sultanate of Brunei, oil and

natural gas production has increased significantly. Income from oil shows an increase of 158% over the 1973 figures, while income from natural gas is higher still, i.e. an increase of 526% over the same period. The increase in the volume of oil and natural gas produced can be intelligently interpreted as an attempt to fully take the advantage of every minute of colonial domination so that by the time the British quit the Sultanate of Brunei, they will only leave behind empty oil wells and an army of unemployed oil workers.

15. Furthermore, surplus funds have been invested on the recommendation and approval of the State Financial Officer, (who is an Englishman of course) to serve colonial and capitalist interests. The investment of surplus funds in ailing British industries is an example of wanton disregard for the rational use of resources. Funds are also being squandered on such prestige projects prepared and recommended by British officers, as the building of a deep sea port in Muara at a cost of US\$20 million, when there was hardly a sea-going liner or cargo ship making a call at the port. On the Brunei International Airport, about the same amount of money was spent with very little air traffic to warrant such a huge expenditure.

16. We would also like to draw the attention of the Committee to the fact that 25% of the Sultanate's current expenditure for 1975 goes to defence (B\$110.6 million) as against the total budget of B\$462.8 million. The Security and Intelligence Unit in addition gets a budget of B\$7 million. Such a huge expenditure is totally unwarranted in view of the size of our country. Indeed, this sum could have been better spent in providing the people of Brunei with better facilities in agriculture, health, education and social welfare.

17. Madame Chairman, permit me now to comment briefly on the Verbatim Note date 26th September, 1975 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland as the administering Power for the Sultanate of Brunei, addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

18. First, let me say that the Permanent Representative is being irrational in branding us as "persons styling ourselves as leaders of the People's Party of Brunei". The statement shows not only a lack of knowledge of the political history of Brunei but it also contains a number of inaccuracies which are intended obviously to mislead world opinion.

19. The present leadership of the People's Party of Brunei was elected during the formation of the Party in January 1956, and has been repeatedly approved by the Party's Annual Congresses held in the years 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960 and 1961. It has been recognised not only by His Highness the Sultan of Brunei, but also by the Colonial Secretary in London. The Party was registered as a political organisation on 21st August, 1956, and there is a record with the Registrar of Societies in the Sultanate of Brunei to prove its validity. If we had no mandate to speak for the people of Brunei, may I ask why was it that the former Colonial Secretary, Mr. Allen Lenox Boyd, now a member of the House of Lords, had seen it fit to receive a delegation consisting of my two colleagues here and myself from the Party for constitutional talks in London in September, 1957? Why was it that the British High Commissioner in Brunei received our petition in August 1961 and forwarded it to London for consideration by the Colonial Secretary? This set of constitutional documents can be found on page 6 of our special publication, "Two Decades of Struggle in Search of Freedom and Liberty", which we have distributed to you. We are also in possession of other documents to prove the genuineness of our leadership. The Permanent Representative of Great Britain and Northern Ireland or any member of this Assembly is most welcome to examine them.

20. I now turn to paragraph 3 of the Note which says that Brunei has never been a colony of the United Kingdom and that her relation with Great Britain is maintained by a Treaty of Friendship. The Treaty, or Treaties to be exact, referred to are the Treaty of Friendship of 1888, which granted Great Britain the most favoured nation treatment and extra-territorial jurisdiction over British subjects in Brunei, and the Treaty of 1906 which introduced the "Residential System", that is the stationing of a British Colonial Agent as the chief administrator in Brunei. Then there is the Brunei Agreement of 1959 which legalises all the previous Treaties. I quote article 4(1) of the Brunei Agreement of 1959:-

Quote His Highness agrees to receive, and provide a suitable residence for, a High Commissioner **to advise on all matters connected with the Government of the State** other than matters relating to Muslim religion and the custom of the Malays as practiced in the State, **and agrees to accept the advice of the High Commissioner,** unquote.

21. In the light of this, it is really stretching one's imagination to say that the British Government had no responsibility for the internal affairs of Brunei throughout that period, that is from 1888 through 1959 to 1971. If only the Permanent Representative of Great Britain and Northern Ireland were to look into the spirit and letter of the above quoted article 4(1) of the Brunei Agreement of 1959, he would not say so freely that Great Britain is not, and has never been, the administering Power in Brunei from 1888 through 1959 to 1971. Further, if the words, "matters connected with the Government of the State" have no other meaning than what the framers of the Brunei Agreement of 1959 meant them to be, then the British. Note must be a masterpiece of blatant lies calculated to deceive this body of free and democratic nations.

22. The reasons given by the British Government for not having been able to participate in a conference relating to constitutional development in Brunei are not valid and should not be accepted without challenge. It is a known fact that Great Britain under the leadership of the Labour Party was a party to a series of constitutional talks between His Highness the Sultan of Brunei and the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. In this respect, I refer this Assembly to Brunei Legislative Council Paper No.4/65 which outlines an undertaking by the British Government to lead Brunei "progressively towards full parliamentary democracy". There was also a reference to an intention "to convene a constitutional conference in Brunei which would be attended by representatives of all sections of the community, including the elected members."

23. Now, Madame Chairman and distinguished members of the Committee, if the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations was at that time able to participate actively in the series of constitutional talks held in 1965 with His Highness the Sultan of Brunei, and, most important of all, commit his Government to leading our country progressively towards parliamentary democracy, then how could the present British Government, still under the leadership of the same Labour Party, abandon the letter and spirit of the White Paper No. 4/65 by simply entering into a new agreement, the Brunei Agreement of 1971, which purportedly granted Brunei the status of a full internal self-government? Up to 1971, and even up to the present time, the British Government held and still holds responsibility for the internal

affairs of Brunei and it cannot ignore the sacred trust placed by the United Nations under article 73 of the United Nations Charter and leave the State of Brunei in a chaotic constitutional disarray that may be a source of threat to international peace and order.

24. Further, if the claim made by the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom is true, namely that Great Britain “is not and never has been the administering Power” for the last century, then why were British troops and mercenaries numbering 10,000 in all sent to the Sultanate of Brunei to crush the Brunei revolution of 8 December 1962? It was a nationalist uprising directed against colonialism and therefore there was no reason for Great Britain to invoke article 3(2) of the Brunei Agreement of 1959, if indeed, she had no responsibility for the internal affairs of Brunei. Perhaps, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom would like to be informed that the former High Commissioner of Brunei, Sir Denis White, was not physically present in Brunei when the Brunei revolution of 8th December broke out. He was having his twice yearly paid holiday in London while his Acting Deputy was a prisoner-of-war with our revolutionary government. Thus it will be seen that not only does the Note Verbal dated 26th September 1975 contain a number of contradictory facts but also blatant lies deliberately conceived to mislead this Assembly and world opinion.

25. I would also like to refer this Committee to the last paragraph of the Note which states that the British Government would continue consultations on the question of the independence of Brunei with the Chairman of the Special Committee. Madame Chairman, speaking for the majority of the people of Brunei, I would like to express the hope that the statement is not a mere lip service to mislead world opinion. I would like to urge the British Government to carry out the essence and spirit of that statement and end the era of colonialism in our country as soon as possible.

26. I would also like to appeal to the Committee to support our call for free and democratic elections in Brunei. We in the People’s Party of Brunei are ready, willing and able to face the elections at any time provided of course there are sufficient safeguards to ensure that the elections are held in a truly free and democratic manner in consultation with and under the supervision of the United Nations. We would also like the Committee to support our call for the lifting of the ban on the People’s Party of Brunei and for the return of all exiles

to Brunei so that they can participate fully and freely in the general elections. We are determined to lead the people of the Sultanate of Brunei to freedom and independence so that our country can take its rightful place in the world community of Nations.

27. The people of the Sultanate of Brunei with their newly acquired wealth from oil and natural gas would be most happy to cooperate and be friendly with all nations, not excluding the British, who want to be our friends on the basis of mutual understanding and the respect for our sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. We are certain that the independence of the Sultanate of Brunei will usher in a new era for us, an era of fruitful international cooperation in all fields, particularly in the economic, social, cultural fields for the mutual benefit of our peoples. We sincerely hope that you will help us to make our dream a reality because to put it bluntly, our fate is in your hands.

28. In conclusion, I would once again like to thank all the distinguished members of the Fourth Committee, the Secretariat and supporting staff who have endlessly worked to make this meeting today as memorable and successful as we had expected it to be.

Thank you.



**STATEMENT BY HIS EXCELLENCY MR. MOHAMED  
KHIR JOHARI, PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF  
MALAYSIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS, IN THE FOURTH  
COMMITTEE ON THE QUESTION OF BRUNEI.**

Madame Chairman,

Since this is the first time I am speaking in the Fourth Committee, I hope you will not rule me out of order if I convey to you and the other members of the Bureau our sincere congratulations on your election.

I read with great interest the opening statement you made in this Committee on 22nd September. Touching on the number of small territories that had yet to become independent, you spoke of the need for "co-operation, initiative and good offices of neighbouring states on a regional basis" in the search for acceptable solutions to the problems posed by the decolonisation process in these territories. It is in that spirit that Malaysia is participating in the discussion on the question of Brunei. It is also in the same spirit that my delegation will, a little later, introduce the draft resolution on Brunei.

The question of Brunei is not a new one on the agenda of this Committee nor on the agenda of the Special Committee of 24. The United Nations has over the years adopted a number of resolutions and consensus statements on Brunei. But so far, very little progress has been achieved towards reaching the goal of self-rule or independence for the people of Brunei. This can perhaps be partly explained by the fact that this Committee, and the Committee of 24, have been, rightly in our view, preoccupied with the more pressing and urgent question posed by colonialism in Africa. With the emergence of nearly all of these territories as independent nations, most of whom are here with us today and whose presence we welcome most warmly, the time has come now when we should seriously direct our attention to the smaller territories so that their peoples too can be free and be able to determine their own future.

As far as Brunei is concerned, we have just heard the leader of the People's Party of Brunei (PRB) make an impassioned plea for the people of Brunei to be granted their inalienable right to

self-determination and independence. Malaysia views such a demand as perfectly just and legitimate and fully consonant with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Furthermore, this demand is entirely consistent with Malaysia's own policy of supporting peoples under colonial rule to full independence. We will, therefore, support any move initiated here at the hastening of the process of democratisation in Brunei and the realisation of the wishes of their people to be free and independent.

In the search for an acceptable solution, our attention must first turn to the administering Power which, in the case of Brunei, is the United Kingdom. The United Nations has consistently called upon the United Kingdom in the discharge of its obligations and responsibilities under the relevant provision of the United Nations Charter to implement Resolution 1514 (XV) of December 1960 containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and people with respect to Brunei. The United Nations has also called upon the United Kingdom to extend all cooperation to the Special Committee of 24 on the question of Brunei.

The United Kingdom, on the other hand, disclaims any responsibility for the internal affairs of Brunei, while not denying responsibility for its external relations and defence matters. The People's Party of Brunei has, with facts and figures, convincingly showed us that despite these claims, Brunei is still an appendage of the British. Those of us who have been under British colonial rule and administration, at one time or another, know what it is to be fully self-governing. The term implies the existence of political parties, of Legislative Councils or Assemblies and some form of a ministerial government by the elected representatives of the people. Clearly, when one looks at the situation existing in Brunei today, one can conclude that it is really not self-governing. Brunei, as we have just been told, is a country where the Constitution has been suspended since the first general election in 1962. The Emergency has also been in force since 1962 and no political activity has been allowed. The United Kingdom claims that under the 1971 Agreement, it has relinquished all responsibility for the internal affairs of Brunei. However, it will be noted that such measures as the suspension of the Constitution and of all political activities and the enforcement of the Emergency Laws were taken 9 years before the United Kingdom decided to hand over the responsibilities for internal affairs. Besides, the Agreement was

negotiated by the British with the Sultan, without consultations with or participation of the people or their representatives. Therefore, we are not entirely convinced that the British are no longer responsible for Brunei's internal affairs.

However, in raising the question of Brunei in the United Nations, Malaysia is not seeking to apportion blame or indulge in recriminations. We do not want to look back. We want to look to the future and earnestly search for a way out, keeping the interest of the people of Brunei paramount in our minds. This is our sole consideration. We sincerely hope that the British Government, with whom we enjoy very warm and friendly relations and with whom our own experience in decolonisation has been based on friendship, understanding and co-operation, will not misunderstand our intentions. It is as much in the interest of Britain as it is in the interest of the people of Brunei and indeed of the peoples of the countries in the region to see that the situation in Brunei is normalised quickly. The British presence in Brunei is pervasive and Britain has the ability to influence the course of events there. In all earnestness therefore, we request the British to use the influence they obviously have and assist in the efforts of the United Nations to seek an acceptable solution in Brunei.

This brings me to the draft resolution on Brunei which I mentioned a little earlier. Permit me, Madame Chairman, to introduce this resolution on behalf of the delegations of Egypt, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Liberia, Libya, Somalia, Syrian Arab Republic, Turkey, Tanzania and Malaysia. Without taking too much time of the Committee, allow me to state very briefly that the thrust of this resolution is to see that elections are held in Brunei. The reference to this is to be found in operative paragraph 3 which calls upon the administering Power, consistent with its responsibilities as the administering Power, to facilitate expeditiously the holding of free and democratic elections by the appropriate government authorities in Brunei. In calling for the elections, we would also like to see some role for the United Nations and hence, we have called for the elections to be held in consultation with and under the supervision of the United Nations. At the same time, we feel that no elections can be truly free and democratic if the existing ban on political parties and on political activities is maintained and if those who are in political exile are banned from participating. Hence, we have also called, prior to the elections, for the lifting of the ban on all

political parties and the return of all political exiles to Brunei so that they can participate freely and fully in the elections.

The rest of the provisions of the resolution both in the preambular and in the operative parts are self-explanatory and do not need any further elaboration on my part.

In presenting this resolution for the consideration of the Committee, I would like to say that the resolution is a product of intensive consultations with a number of delegations. In our desire to see that the text enjoys as wide a measure of support as possible, we have made every effort to accommodate the views and suggestions of the delegation concerned. In this context, I would like to mention in particular the delegation of Australia. We held very close and friendly discussions with the Australian delegation and I am pleased to say that in the spirit of friendship and co-operation that characterise the close relations that exist between our two countries, we have been able to agree on a text that is acceptable to both sides. Furthermore, Madame Chairman, I would like to assure you that the text enjoys the support of such ASEAN countries as Indonesia, Philippines and Thailand and, I dare say, the countries of the Southeast Asian region. We sincerely hope that it will be possible to adopt this resolution by consensus.

*13th November 1975,  
New York.*

**UNITED NATIONS  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

Distr.  
LIMITED  
A/C. 4/L. 1103  
12 November 1975  
ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Thirtieth session  
FOURTH COMMITTEE  
Agenda item 23

**IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE  
GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES  
AND PEOPLES**

**QUESTION OF BRUNEI**

**Egypt, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Liberia, Libya, Malaysia, Somalia,  
Syrian Arab Republic, Turkey, and United Republic of Tanzania:  
draft resolution.**

**QUESTION OF BRUNEI**

**The General Assembly,  
Having considered the question of Brunei,**

**Having examined the relevant chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regards to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 1/**

**Having heard the statement of a petitioner, Mr. A.M. Azahari, President of the Peoples Party of Brunei (Partai Rakyat Brunei), which, in the 1962 election received 98 per cent of the votes cast,**

**Recalling its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as well as other relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations relating to the Territory, including in**

particular the consensus on the question adopted by the General Assembly on 13 December 1974, 2/

1. **Reaffirms** the inalienable right of the people of Brunei to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

2. **Approves** the chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to Brunei; 3/

3. **Calls upon** the administering Power, consistent with its responsibility as the administering Power, to take all steps within its competence to facilitate expeditiously the holding of free and democratic elections by the appropriate government authorities in Brunei in consultation with and under the supervision of the United Nations in accordance with the inalienable rights of the people of Brunei to self-determination and independence, and further calls, prior to the elections, for the lifting of the ban on all political parties and the return of all political exiles to Brunei so that they can participate freely and fully in the elections;

3. **Calls upon** the administering Power, in conformity with the provisions of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, to extend full co-operation to the Special Committee;

5. **Requests** the Special Committee to keep the situation in the Territory under review and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its thirty-first session.

**PARTAI RAKYAT BRUNEI**  
(People's Party Brunei)

*Ref:* PRB/NAS/07/76.

*Tgl:* 27.7.1976

146 Jalan Gasing  
Petaling Jaya  
Selangor.  
Malaysia.

His Excellency  
Mr. Susil Moonasinghe  
Secretary  
Non-Aligned Summit Conference  
Bandaranaike Memorial International  
Conference Hall  
Buddhaloka Mawatha  
Colombo 7,  
Sri Lanka.

Your Excellency,

**Subject: MEMORANDUM TO 1976 NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT  
CONFERENCE**  
submitted by  
**PARTAI RAKYAT BRUNEI (1976)**

The Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB), extends its greetings to this historic Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Nations. We have the firm belief that this Conference will be able to study the conditions of the peoples and nations who are struggling for freedom from colonialism and injustice, and give to these people their unreserved support. The people of Brunei, whom we represent, is one such struggling people.

We share the happiness of the member countries of the Non-Aligned Summit Conference, that, today's Conference is held at Sri Lanka, a progressive country under a far-sighted premier, Madam Sirimavo Bandaranaike. This Conference once again opens up a new era in the modern history of the world. It carries special significance to those developing nations who are struggling for a peaceful, just world and solidarity between non-aligned states.

Even though members of this Conference adopt different ideologies, different institutions of government and different socio-economic programmes, we believe that this Conference will be able to focus on common problems and will find ways of solving them for the sake of humanity as a whole.

The aim of achieving a peaceful world is one of the fundamental goals in the creation of this body of Non-Aligned Nations and it is of this goal that confronts this Conference at Sri Lanka today. All countries in this world without exception wish to develop and modernize within the context of a peaceful and stable society.

No country would wish for the destruction of its own people or of any neighbouring peoples. It is only those states who are obsessed with their own greed or with memories of past dominance who create the conditions which endanger the peace of the world.

The world today is multifarious. It can no longer be dominated by one or two states pursuing imperialist goals. But these nations can still attempt indirect control through economic means or through ideological infiltration. Small nations are only too vulnerable to such influences. But if the major nations, like the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Britain and Japan are sincere in their wish for a peaceful world, a world that is free from conflicts, there is much that they can do to help developing countries.

Your Excellency,

Brunei is a tiny country of 2,226 sq. miles with a population of a little over 150,000. It is a close neighbour of Malaysia.

Under the banner of the mass-based Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB), formed in 1956, the people of Brunei have been fighting for their independence from British colonialism for almost three decades. In striving for its political objectives, the Partai Rakyat Brunei, in September 1957, submitted a memorandum to the Colonial Secretary in London - seeking political changes in the constitutional structure of the Sultanate of Brunei. The memorandum was followed by a three-man delegation led by Mr. A.M. Azahari, the President of the party.



After lengthy but futile discussions with the then obdurate Colonial Secretary, the delegation was informed that the British Government was not prepared to grant self-government to the Sultanate of Brunei. Frustrated, the delegation returned home empty-handed. However, the Partai Rakyat Brunei continued, by peaceful means to fight for the rightful and just cause of the people in accordance with the spirit of the Declaration of Human Rights.

The Colonial Authority in the Sultanate of Brunei then and until now views the anti-colonial activities of the party with intense jealousy and suspicion. The whole governmental apparatus (police and information) was directed to crush the organisation and popularity of the party. Party leaders were intimidated and threatened with political detention. Nevertheless, the party leadership continued the struggle and pressured London until the British Government responded with the promulgation of a written Constitution on the 29th of September, 1959.

The Constitution of Brunei, 1959, as it is generally referred to now, stipulated that an election for the newly constituted Legislative Assembly be held within two years of its promulgation, that was not later than the 29th of September, 1961. When the target date came nearer, the Colonial Authority in the Sultanate of Brunei unconstitutionally postponed the election on the grounds of some "unforeseen circumstances."

When the first State-wide election was finally held in August 1962, the Partai Rakyat Brunei contested all the fifty-five seats and won fifty-four in the District Councils and won all the sixteen seats in the Legislative Councils contested.

The semi-democratic constitution, however, barred the party from forming the government though it received 98% of the total votes cast. There was no provision in the Constitution of Brunei (1959 Constitution), to effect such ministerial form of government. This of course, increased political frustration among the population and total distrust of the British Government.

Provoked by colonial treachery and urged by their inalienable right to self-determination and national freedom, the people of the Sultanate of Brunei proclaimed their independence through national

revolution on the 8th December 1962. The revolution which received popular support took the British Colonial Authority in the Sultanate of Brunei by surprise. It liberated the whole Sultanate from foreign domination for sometime. Alas! the revolution was mercilessly crushed by the whole might of British colonial forces in the Far East — at one time deploying some 10,000 trained soldiers, killing countless numbers of our fallen Martyrs-Syahada.

Ever since the Brunei Revolution of 8th December, 1962, the Sultanate of Brunei has been placed under a STATE OF EMERGENCY. The Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB) was banned and all its leaders, including five (5) Executive Councilors, fifteen (15) Legislative Councilors, and thirty-three (33) District Councilors were illegally arrested and placed under detention. At the height of the revolution, some 2,354 party members were arrested and detained. About 40 political detainees, are still being detained in maximum security cells at the punitive centre of Jerudong Prison House, in the Sultanate of Brunei — a protectorate state of the British. Most of them have been under detention for more than fourteen years (14).

In the course of 1964, pressured by world opinion to eradicate colonialism from this world, a series of constitutional talks took place in London between the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs and His Royal Highness the Sultan of Brunei. The outcome of the discussion was embodied in a **White Paper No. 4/65**. Generally, the White Paper outlined the political course that the Sultanate of Brunei was to “proceed progressively towards full parliamentary democracy.” This was to be realised by the holding of a direct election to the newly reconstituted Legislative Council to be followed by introduction of a “ministerial form of Government.”

The White Paper of 4/65, also outlined an undertaking by both parties to call for “an all party conference” to be attended by the representatives of the people, including their elected leaders, with the view to make recommendation for gradual transfer of sovereignty to the people of Brunei.

Although a general election was held in May, 1965, none of the principal items of the White Paper was ever carried out. The newly reconvened Legislative Council had only ten (10) elected members (all of them were members of Partai Rakyat Brunei) out of thirty-three (33). No elected member was ever appointed to be full minister and

the promise of “ministerial government” was never carried out.

Worse still, when the fifth year of the reconvened Legislative Council expired in April 1970, His Royal Highness the Sultan of Brunei was forced by the British Government to suspend the Constitution of Brunei (1959 Constitution). (Under the Brunei Agreement, 1959, His Royal Highness the Sultan of Brunei must accept the advice of the British High Commissioner). By Royal Decree, Government nominees were appointed (including a clique of British Officers) to the Legislative Council, usurping the political rights of the people as embodied in the Constitution of Brunei, 1959.

After having buried the vestige of democracy in the Sultanate of Brunei, the British Government signed a new Agreement (to supplement the Agreement of 1959) on the 23rd of November, 1971, whereby “Brunei now has full internal self-government,” and Great Britain is only responsible for the external affairs and the defence of Sultanate of Brunei. This legal manipulation was intended to pacify world opinion about British Colonialism. At the United Nations in particular, the Permanent Representative of the British Government has been constantly asked to clarify whether the requirements of Article 73 (e) of the United Nations Charter have been honoured in Brunei. The new Agreement was also intended to put the sins of British Officers who have murdered countless numbers of the people of Brunei during the Revolution of December, 1962 on to the shoulder of His Royal Highness the Sultan of Brunei.

Today, there is no elected Government in the Sultanate of Brunei. The day to day administration is carried out by a “Council of Ministers”, which is composed of civil servants (with a handful of Englishmen) appointed by His Royal Highness the Sultan of Brunei. In actual fact, effective control of the administration is in the hands of a clique of British Officers (at least one of them is a Jew who had served in occupied Jerusalem in 1947-1948) who hold key positions such as Attorney-General, the State Financial Officer, the adviser to the Commissioner of Police, the adviser to the Director of Education, the Director of Medical Services and many others.

As has been mentioned, the Sultanate of Brunei has been placed under a STATE OF EMERGENCY since December, 1962. No political parties are tolerated. The Partai Rakyat Brunei is

proscribed, forcing it to carry out its activity underground and to have its temporary office in exile abroad.

There is widespread political discontent in the Sultanate of Brunei and this is demonstrated by constant arrests of our party members. Political intimidation and threats of arrest are carried out everyday by the Colonial Authority backed by a battalion of Gurkha mercenaries.

The Sultanate of Brunei is the last country in South East Asia still under Colonial domination and exploitation. It is an economic haven for Western capitalism. Shell International derives 20% of its global profit from the Oil Field of Seria, in the Sultanate of Brunei. It exported 9,183 tons of crude oil in 1972 compared with 5,700 millions worth M304.8 million in the previous year. The Sultanate of Brunei's exports of crude oil are relatively negligible in terms of world production; the fact remains that it is the second largest oil producing country in South East Asia — a source of nectar to British colonial interests.

With a surplus of M\$2.2 billion by the end of 1976 (out of 30% royalties that Brunei gets from the total amount of the production of oil), the Sultanate of Brunei will certainly be able to play a part in the economic development of the Third World, especially those in need of capital injection. But until Brunei gains full independence from Britain, she can do nothing for the Third World.

The Sultanate of Brunei is a British Protectorate — thus, she is not free to conduct her own foreign relations with other countries because of Article 3 (1) of the Brunei Agreement, 1959 as amended by the Agreement of 1971 which says.

“Her Majesty shall have complete control of the external affairs of the State, and His Highness agrees that without the knowledge and consent of Her Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom, he will not make any treaty, enter into any engagement, deal in or correspond on political matters with, or send envoys to any other state.”

The British Government has invoked this particular Article for many years now and bares the Sultanate of Brunei from associating herself with any international organization like the Non-Aligned Conference. Brunei is therefore, unable to take her natural part as a non-aligned state, unable to support the Palestinian cause in particular and the Arab cause in general and unable to fight against imperialism and Zionism.

Your Excellency,

Our ultimate desire to become independent and sovereign and be accepted as a member of family of nations, is also inspired by the hope that we would be able to play an important role in the economy of the Third World. We are eager to cooperate hand in hand with our brothers, members of this Conference, in all fields for the interest of all of us. It is with this in mind, that we appeal to the members of this Conference, to extend your support, both moral and material, for the success of our struggle. Your support will definitely be a golden bridge, a means of strengthening cooperation between our countries in the near future.

The question of Brunei is not the question of how big or small a country is. It is a question of a principle, a question of human rights and the question of the right of human beings to live freely as laid down at the United Nations Charter 1514 (XV) of 1960.

The Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB) has a firm political attitude towards Zionism; we abhor Zionism and unreservedly support our Palestinian brothers and all Arab brothers who are struggling for the independence of Palestine. Our Party, together with our brothers, the government and people of Malaysia and the rest of the world condemn the Israel aggression in Uganda. In addition, Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB) abhors white minority rule in Rhodesia and South Africa. We firmly support our brothers, the peoples and races of the world who are struggling for their independence from colonialism in whatever form and wherever it is in this world.

We support the concept of neutrality of South East Asia as a Zone of Peace and Neutrality as proposed by Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. However, we feel that as long as there still exists colonialism in Brunei, the objectives of ASEAN cannot be achieved.

The ultimate responsibility for any disturbance in Brunei or any situation which might provoke outside intervention rests squarely on the shoulders of the British colonialists.

Your Excellency,

The Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB) which has been represented by its

president, Mr. A.M. Azahari Mahmud, the then Vice President, Mr. Zaini Haji Ahmad and the Secretary General, Mr. Yassin Affendy represented the Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB) to attend the Conference of Sub-Committee II of the Special Committee of 24 of the United Nations at its 241st to 244th meetings, between 15th and 24th July 1957, as petitioners, (document no. A/AC. 109/SC. 3/SR. 241). The Committee with consensus adopted a resolution on the Sultanate of Brunei (A/AC. 109/L. 1052) which reads:

“The special Committee, having examined a petition concerning the situation in Brunei, and having heard the important statement made by Mr. A.M. Azahari, President of the Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB), in which inter alia, he stated that in the 1962 elections his party won the overwhelming support of the people of Brunei, endorses the call by the Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB) for immediate Tripartite talks between the Administating power, the Sultan of Brunei and the Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB) with the objective of fixing a date for the independence of Brunei and the holding of free and democratic elections under the supervision of the United Nations; and decides, subject to any directives which the General Assembly might give in that connexion at its thirtieth session and taking into account the results of the consultations between its Chairman and the Administering Power concerned, to continue consideration of this question at its next session with a view to the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960.”

The consensus was adopted, without vote, by the committee of twenty-four (Decolonization Committee of the United Nations) during its 1018th Meeting held on Tuesday, 19th August, 1975.

To this date, the British have not responded to the resolution. A spokesman from the Foreign Office in London was quoted as saying “Such consultations would be inappropriate as we are not responsible for the internal constitutional affairs of the state,” (New Straits Times Malaysia 1.11.1975). In the meanwhile, The Right Honourable Lord Goronwy Roberts, Minister of State, Foreign and Commonwealth, in his statement says, “It is not the practice of Her Majesty’s Government to carry out consultations with any political organization except between government to government.” (Utusan Malaysia 15.1.1976).

Now we ask:

1. Why did the Colonial Office in London in 1957 accept a delegation from the Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB) lead by the party's President Mr. A.M. Azahari Mahmud to discuss the constitutional progress of Brunei, while the status of Brunei Gbvernment at that times was and still is a protectorate of the British<sup>2</sup>.

2. The Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB) would like to ask whether or not the leaders of the Congress Party of India under the leadership of the Great Mahatma Ghandi met with the British Government at Lancaster House chaired by the late, The Right Honourable Lord Louis Mountbatten to discuss the question of India's independence. Was the Congress Party of India at that time the Government of India?

The Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB) again had the opportunity to make a statement at the meeting of the Committee Four of The General Assembly at its 30th session on 12th Nov. 1975, and adopted a resolution (A/C. 4/L. 1103) which reads:

1. **Reaffirms** the inalienable right of the people of Brunei to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV).

2. **Approves** the chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to Brunei;

3. **Calls upon** the administering Power, consistent with its responsibility as the administering Power, to take all steps within its competence to facilitate expeditiously the holding of free and democratic elections by the appropriate government authorities in Brunei in consultation with and under the supervision of the United Nations, in accordance with the inalienable rights of the people of Brunei to self-determination and independence, and further calls, prior to the election, for the lifting of the ban on all political parties and the return of all political exiles to Brunei so that they can participate freely and fully in the elections;

4. **Call upon** the administering Power, in conformity with the provisions of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, to extend full co-operation to the Special Committee;

5. **Requests** the Special Committee to keep the situation in the Territory under review and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its thirty-first session.

This resolution was sponsored by Malaysia and was read by the Honourable Mr. Mohd. Khir Johari, the then Malaysian Ambassador to United Nations and United States. It was co-sponsored by 19 other countries: Egypt, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Liberia, Libya, Somalia, Syria, Turkey, Algeria, Madagaskar, Senegal, Tunis, Kuwait, Bahrain, Sudan, Congo, Philipines and Tanzania.

The resolution was supported by 88 other countries of 102 that were present. The resolution was passed by the United Nations General Assembly at its 30th Regular session, 8th December 1975, Resolution No 3432 (XXX) which was supported by 119 countries out of the 131 present.

Following our success at the United Nations, one of the British Ministers, His Right Honourable Lord Goronway Roberts, Minister of State, Foreign and Commonwealth, visited Brunei from the 5th-9th of January 1976. Discussions were held between Lord Goronwy and His Royal Highness the Sultan of Brunei. In Brunei, one of the local newspapers, the Borneo Bulletin (17.1.1976) quoted him as saying in an interview:

“We are of course perhaps one of the cradles of democracy, and very much in favour of every country - and this means every country - moving in the direction of free institutions. The pace of this varies from country to country according to circumstances. But our basic view is for that to happen, and from time to time of course we intimate, especially to our friends, our views, our hopes and our encouragements. And this applies to Brunei.....

My Government, of course, through the High Commissioner, has drawn the attention of the Sultan to the terms of the recent United Nation's resolution, its implications and its possibilities. In that way we have, at this juncture, conveyed to him, in as friendly as possible a manner, how we see the situation and how we hope the Brunei Government may react.”

While in Kuala Lumpur, Lord Goronwy Roberts held a press



conference (quoted from New Straits Times, Malaysia- 15.1.1976) in which he said: “.....our view is that there is no inherent or real threat to Brunei.” The paper says, “The Minister said Britain did not subscribe to the view held by some in Brunei that a change in the treaty arrangement between London and the Sultanate would affect the security.”

The Minister is also quoted as saying, “it is not for me to deny that the Sultan is apprehensive about the security of this state. It is up to every-one concerned in the region to remove the apprehension through friendly discussions.” With regards to the presence of a Gurkha Battalion in Brunei, the paper quoted the Minister as saying, “the role of the Battalion in Brunei was purely to counter any external aggression. If there were external difficulties, Britain would hold discussions with the Brunei Government to deal with the problem.”

It is obvious from these statements that, it is the British who are arrogating to themselves responsibilities for the internal, as well as the external affairs of the Sultanate of Brunei.

However, to this date, the Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB) has not seen a sincere statement from the British that they are willing to bring a democratic and constitutional government to Brunei in accordance with the General Assembly resolution.

Your Excellency,

We presume that Your Excellency would agree with us if we say that the Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB) is one of a few of those concerned with the question and to a solution to the Brunei problem. The British have refused to communicate with the Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB), although we have tried various approaches to settle the question of Brunei in a peaceful manner. Apart from having our appeal heard before the United Nations Sub-Committee II of Committee of 24, and the United Nations Committee Four of the General Assembly last year, Partai Rakyat Brunei also has presented a petition to the Right Honourable, The Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs, on 20th March 1975, and another addressed to the Right Honourable, Mr. Harold Wilson, the then Prime Minister of Her Majesty's Government on 27th March 1975, asking for his good offices to solve the problems of Brunei and support

the establishment of a Parliamentary Democratic Government in an independent Sultanate of Brunei.

The reply that we received from the Personal and Political Secretary to Mr. Wilson is not more than one line stating that our letter dated 27th March 1975 had arrived safely "and that further reply will be sent to you as soon as possible." It is regretted that, after almost one and-a-half years, we have not received any "further reply."

The British Government will of course deny responsibility for the internal affairs of Brunei and will attempt to place the blame for the absence of talks, as it did for the suppression of the rebellion, on the Sultan. But it is obvious from evidence which has already been presented that the British exercise real if indirect control over the internal affairs of Brunei. The picture of the "liberal" British pressing for talks, opposed by a "reactionary" Sultan, is false.

Your Excellency,

The visit of Lord Goronwy-Roberts to Brunei has given a great hope to the people of South East Asia and in particular to the people of Brunei and the Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB), that there would be a positive outcome which would benefit the people of Brunei.

However, the Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB) thinks that any such outcome would be one sided and unfair; for the people of Brunei are not represented in negotiations. In this respect, the only organisation which is legitimate and which holds the mandate of the people of Brunei is, the Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB). The voice of Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB) is the voice of the majority of the people of Brunei. Only the Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB) holds a legal mandate from the people (from the 1962 General Election) and only the Partai Rakyat Brunei has the right to form a Government. It is proper for the Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB) to be invited to all talks and conferences with regard to the affairs of the Brunei people in all aspects. Only by including the Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB) in negotiations can the British solve the problem of Brunei.

It is in the name of justice, freedom, peace and in the name of human rights and the right of self-determination, that we, the Executives and General Committee of the Partai Rakyat Brunei

(PRB), the party which won fifty four (54) out of fifty-five (55) electoral seats contested during the General Election in Brunei in 1962, receiving 98% of the vote cast, beg the Conference to pass the following resolution.

1. To recognize the Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB), as the only party which represents the national aspiration of the people of Brunei, and as such to afford the status of observers to the party's representatives during the Conference.

2. To call upon the British Government to implement as soon as possible, the United Nations resolution on Brunei as laid out at the United Nations document (A/C, 4/L. 1103) of 12th Nov. 1975.

3. To call upon the British Government to hold a Tripartite Conference with His Royal Highness the Sultan of Brunei, representatives of the Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB) and representatives of Her Majesty's Government, as the Administrating Power, with a view to work out a plan for the immediate transfer of sovereignty to the people of Brunei.

4. To give full support to the struggle of the people of Brunei under the banner of the Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB).

5. To allow and to facilitate, the Partai Rakyat Brunei representatives to open an office to carry out the party's activities in each respective country.

We attest our signatures on behalf of the Executives and Central Committee of the Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB).

the Petitioners  
Sir,  
Yours faithfully.

(Mr. A.Osman Abd. Latif)  
Head, Information Department.

(Dr. Mahmud Saedon A. Othman)  
Head, Foreign Affairs Bureau.

**AN APPEAL TO THE CHAIRMAN,  
THE FOURTH COMMITTEE,  
UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY, NEW YORK**

**PARTAI RAKYAT BRUNEI  
(PEOPLE'S PARTY BRUNEI)**  
146, Jalan Gasing, Petaling Jaya, Selangor.

*Ref:* PRB/PBB/40/77

*Tgl:* 24th October 1977.

His Excellency  
The Chairman of  
The Fourth Committee  
United Nations Organisation  
New York 10017  
U.S. America.

Your Excellency,

WE, the undersigned, leaders of the Partai Rakyat Brunei (Peoples' Party Brunei PRB), representing the Executive and Central Committee of the PRB, having presented our case for self-determination and independence of Brunei before the United Nations Sub-Committee 11 of the Special Committee of 24 on 15th July 1975 and before The Fourth Committee at its 30th Session on 13th November 1975; have the honour to submit this PETITION to this deliberative, world body of the United Nations Organisation, seeking continuous unreserved and unqualified support for the just and legitimate struggle of the people of Brunei for self-determination and independence as adopted by the General Assembly, Resolutions 3424 (XXX) of 8th December 1975, and 31/56 (XXXI) of 1st December 1976, which are compatible with the spirit of the United Nations resolution 1514 (XV) of 14th December 1960.

We therefore, beg to appeal to this deliberative world body that it:-

1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Brunei to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);
2. Reaffirms the General Assembly resolutions on Brunei on 3424 (XXX) of 8th December 1975 and no 31/56 (XXXI) of 1st

December 1976;

3. Takes necessary and effective steps until the Government of the United Kingdom as the Administering Power in Brunei, responds positively and urgently to the provisions of all of the General Assembly resolutions on Brunei no 3424 (XXX) and no 31/56 (XXX1);
4. Urges upon the Administering Power to recognise the PRB as the sole representative of the people of Brunei in their struggle for self-determination and independence, and to extend the invitation to the PRB to attend and participate in all constitutional talks held between the Administering Power and His Highness the Sultan of Brunei in accordance with the report of Sub-Committee 11 which contains a draft consensus as adopted by the Special Committee;
5. Immediately intervenes and prevents any attempt by the Administering Power to divert or evade from the substance and requirements of the United Nations resolution no 3424 (XXX) and no 31/56 (XXX1) - that any solution to the question of Brunei should be based on and in accordance with the above resolutions;
6. Urges the Administering Power to withdraw all of its military forces and personnel from Brunei without delay.

Your Excellency,

This is the third year since the Partai Rakyat Brunei (Peoples's Party Brunei - PRB) has presented its case before the United Nations Organisation which led to the adoption of the resolution no 3424 (XXX) of 8th December 1975 and was subsequently reaffirmed by the General Assembly on 1st December 1976 under document no 31/56 (XXX). It is deeply regretted that throughout that period, the Government of United Kingdom as the Administering Power in Brunei has remained indifferent despite repeated calls by the United Nations as evidenced in the above mentioned resolutions and the reports of the Sub-Committee and Special Committee. The PRB on the other hand as one of the important factors to the solution of the question of Brunei has tirelessly made repeated appeals, petitions and protests since 1959, in accordance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14th December 1960.

The PRB last submitted its Memorandum addressed to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs on 3rd September 1976. The Memorandum inter-alia "calls upon the Administering Power to hold an immediate tripartite conference between Her Majesty's Government, His Royal Highness the Sultan of Brunei and the Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB), with a view to discussing Brunei's political future and the implementation of the United Nations General Assembly resolution no 3424 (XXX) of 8th December 1975." Such an attempt made by the PRB should be viewed as an endeavour to resolve the current "unacceptable" situation in Brunei.

Our disappointment at the lack of any sincere attempt on the part of the Administering Power to carry out the implementation of the said resolution on Brunei is also expressed by the Chairman of the Special Committee in His Excellency's letter addressed to the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations on May 1977 and also in a report submitted by the Sub-Committee on Small Territories which was subsequently adopted by the United Nations Special Committee on 6th July 1977.

The Administering Power being a signatory to the Atlantic Charter, must know of the ardent desire of our people to live in an independent and sovereign state, to be governed by an elected government of our own choice - free from any political, economic, cultural and military subjugations. The Administering Power must also know that our love for independence is no different from that of any other peoples and it knows no boundaries. It is in this light that we hope the Administering Power will not force us to achieve our national objective through violence as in Rhodesia and South Africa.

In our opinion, if the Administering Power could become the champion of effective measures to bring about the transition to majority rule in Rhodesia, we see, therefore, no reason why in the question of Brunei, no such attempt is made by the same Administration. We hereby appeal to this respected and deliberative world body to urge the Administering Power to immediately transfer all powers to the people of Brunei without any conditions and reservations in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations resolutions no 3424 (XXX) and no 31/56 (XXXI)

Your Excellency,

Allow us to quote a paragraph from the POLITICAL DECLARATION issued during The Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in Colombo, Sri Lanka in August 1976 which reads, "Imperialists, however, continued in their attempts to devise new methods designed to perpetuate their domination and exploitation of peoples. Imperialists are reacting to the reverses they have suffered from the success of struggles for liberation by a deliberate policy of vicious repression in those countries over which they still maintain direct control in a desperate effort to regain their lost position and maintain their domination".

In the case of Brunei, "the new methods" are carefully designed by the Imperialist under the guise of "friendship treaties", the provision of which have never been honoured. Allow us to quote and briefly explain a few cases where the Administering Power has broken the promises she made to the nation.

#### **The First Written Constitution: The Brunei Constitution of 1959.**

In September 1957, the PRB submitted a Memorandum to the Colonial Secretary of State for Colonies in London, seeking political advancement for Brunei. As a follow-up of the said Memorandum the PRB sent a three-man delegation to London led by Mr. A.M. Azahari Mahmud, the President of the Party, with a view to having a discussion on the substance of the Memorandum submitted earlier. The party's delegation failed to get any political concession from the Administering Power, still less to get democratic institutions for Brunei.

Under intense pressure from the people of Brunei, the Administering Power at last, on 29th September 1959, gave Brunei the first written constitution which is referred to as The Constitution of 1959. The Constitution inter-alia, provided for the establishment of a Legislative Council of thirty-three (33) members, sixteen (16) of whom were to be elected by adult suffrage. The election was to take place two years later, that was not later than 29th September 1961. Because the Constitution did not provide for a winning party to form a government nor did it introduce a ministerial form of government, the PRB felt that the Constitution was a mockery of democracy and therefore adopted a policy of being neutral to the constitutional changes but politically active.

The General Election was finally held on 20th August 1962, following a mass demonstration in protest against the delay.

The PRB was able to prove itself as the only influential and popular party when it won the General Election by a landslide. The PRB contested all of the fifty-five (55) seats and won fifty-four (54) seats in the District Councils receiving 98% of the votes cast. The lone independent who won the remaining seat finally joined the party. The result was that, through a collegiate system, the PRB won all sixteen (16) elected seats in the Legislative Council and seven (7) in the Executive Council (State Cabinet).

It was unfortunate that the newly elected peoples representatives were then “thrown” into the “opposition bench” in the parliament with limited privileges. The Legislative Councillors were prohibited from questioning or debating the financial status of the country or matters relating to defence and foreign affairs. There were many other restrictions.

The first meeting of the semi-elected Brunei Legislative Assembly was scheduled to take place on the 5th of December 1952. The PRB through its elected representatives in the Legislative Assembly, submitted a number of motions for the deliberation and consideration of the Body. One of the motions was to “empower the Peoples’ Party Brunei with the political mandate to fight for the independence of Brunei before the United Nations”. It was unfortunate that the British Colonial Authority in Brunei, through the office of the British High Commissioner, advised the Sultan of Brunei to instruct the Speaker of the Assembly who was a government nominee, to postpone the meeting of the Legislative Assembly indefinitely.

### **The 8th December Revolution.**

Frustrated and provoked, the people of Brunei through their legally elected representatives exercised their inalienable right to self-determination and independence by declaring their independence unilaterally by means of popular revolution on 8th December 1962.

As a result, the Sultan of Brunei, on the advice of The British High Commissioner in Brunei, declared a STATE OF EMERGENCY on 12th December 1962. Since then, Brunei has been under Emergency Rule.



Following the revolution, the Administering Power despatched some 10,000 well equipped Imperial forces and the Gurkha mercenaries to crush the revolution. At that time, the population of Brunei was only about 91,000. We have only to look at the figures of the British forces to come to one's own conclusion on how countless numbers of our helpless people were murdered. The occupying Imperial forces also indiscriminately arrested and detained some 2,234 party members, including fifteen (15) Legislative Councillors, six (6) Executive Councillors and thirty-three (33) District Councillors.

There are now about 25 political detainees (including 12 arrested for the past three years ago) who have been in detention for the past fifteen (15) years. They are detained under maximum security in the infamous Jerudong Prison House, Brunei. They are treated as criminals and not as political detainees and are subject to every form of inhuman torture and suffering in flagrant violation of the United Nations declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant of Civil and Political rights.

It is therefore, in the name of justice and humanity, that we solicit the support of this deliberative world body to urge the Colonial Authority in Brunei to immediately release them without prior condition.

We believe that, if the Administering Power had treated Brunei in the same way she treated Malaysia before independence in 1957, i.e. guiding the people in the direction of a system of Parliamentary Democracy and independence, we are positive that the bloody revolution of 8th December would not have occurred.

### **The White Paper 4/65.**

In the course of 1964, pressured by world opinion to eradicate Colonialism from this world, a series of constitutional talks took place in London between the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs and His Highness the Sultan of Brunei. The outcome of the discussion was embodied in THE WHITE PAPER NO 4/65. Generally, the White Paper outlined a political course by which Brunei was "to proceed progressively towards Parliamentary Democracy."

This was to be realised by the holding of a direct election to the newly reconstituted Legislative Council, to be followed by the introduction of a “ministerial form of government.” The White Paper of 4/65 also outlined an undertaking by both parties to call for “an all party conference” to be attended by the representatives of the people, including their elected leaders, with a view to make recommendation for general transfer of sovereignty to the people of Brunei.

Although a General Election was held in May 1965, none of the principal items of the White Paper was ever carried out. The newly reconvened Legislative Council had only twelve (12) elected members (all of them were members of the PRB) out of thirty-three (33). No elected member was ever appointed to be full minister and the promise of “Ministerial Government” was never honoured.

The Administering Power had expected the people of Brunei to be politically immobile and the PRB to be buried. However, it was a great surprise to the Administering Power when former PRB members won the elections either as independent candidates or under the newly formed Peoples’ Independent Front of Brunei (BAKER) or People’s National United Party (PERKARA).

Realising the political consequences that might arise from this new development, His Highness the Sultan of Brunei was then forced by the Administering Power to suspend the Constitution of 1959, following the expiry date of the fifth year of the reconvened Legislative Council, in April 1970.

By Royal Decree, government nominees were appointed including a clique of British Officers to the Legislative Council. The Administering Power continues today to usurp the political right of the people of Brunei as embodied in the constitution of Brunei 1959.

### **The Agreement of 1971.**

Having buried the last vestige of democracy in Brunei, murdered countless numbers of our innocent people, arrested and imprisoned all the elected leaders of the PRB, the Administering Power is now trying to hide its bloody hands and shift criminal responsibility onto the innocent shoulders of His Highness the Sultan of Brunei under the pretext of the Agreement of 1971, which purportedly grants the territory full self-government.

Under the pretext of this treaty, the Administering Power is trying to pull the wool over our eyes by arguing that “Brunei is a sovereign state” enjoying “full internal self-government.” But the fact remains that the Administering Power is still responsible for the state of political affairs in the state of Brunei by virtue of the Brunei Agreement of 1959, as amended by the Brunei Agreement of 1971.

If Brunei truly enjoys the status of a sovereign and independent nation, as note verbal of 26th September 1975 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations addressed to His Excellency the United Nations Secretary-General and a letter of 22nd June 1977 addressed to His Excellency the Chairman of the Fourth Committee seem to infer, the State of Brunei would not be barred by the Administering Power from conducting her external relations within the community of free nations. The sovereignty of its Legislature would be supreme and would not be subjected to any restriction such as,:

“and that Her Majesty shall continue to enjoy jurisdiction to make for the state laws relating to external affairs. Her Majesty agrees that she will keep His Highness informed of any action taken or proposed to be taken by Her in pursuance of this Article.”

And the contents of Article 3 (1) of the Brunei Agreement 1959, which reads:

“Her Majesty shall have complete control of the external affairs of the State and His Highness agrees that without the knowledge and consent of Her Majesty’s Government of the United Kingdom he will not make any treaty, enter into any agreement, deal in or correspond on political matters with, or send envoys to any other state.”

Even if it is assumed (and this is not accepted by the PRB) that Brunei Agreement of 1971, has changed the legal status of Brunei to that of a “fully internally self-governing territory,” the fact remains that the Administering Power is still responsible for the State of Brunei, because the Agreement of 1971 was made contrary to the spirit of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14th December 1960. This urges all Administering Powers (United Kingdom, in the

case of Brunei), to take immediate steps to “transfer all powers to the people of those territories without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom.”

The Agreement of 1971 is not only made contrary to the substance of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), but also against the accepted principle of international practice because it was made under political duress and not between two equal sovereign states.

The Brunei Agreements (including the Agreement of 1971) were made between a Colonial Master (United Kingdom) and subjected people (Brunei) for the sole purpose of perpetuating Colonial rule and interests. On the other hand, the promise of a White Paper 4/65 which for the “all party conference” to be attended “by the representatives of the people including their elected leaders” was violated by the Administering Power.

By having the Agreement of 1971 entered upon between the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and His Highness the Sultan of Brunei, the Administering Power tried, through legal manipulation, to negate its responsibility especially its international obligations assumed under article 73 (e) which requires Great Britain to transmit information regarding Brunei, and also the substance of General Assembly resolution 3159 (XXXV 111). The Agreement is none other than to legalise the illegal acts perpetrated by the Administering Power up to 1971.

Your Excellency,

Despite British claims that Brunei is self-governing, there are no active political parties existing in Brunei today. The two political parties, BAKER and PERKARA only exist in name.

In reality, Brunei is governed by the British. British officers held key positions either as heads of departments or “advisers” to the heads of departments. Just to quota a few, the State Financial Officer is an Englishman, as are the Director of Department of Security and Intelligence, Director of Rehabilitation Centre, Commanding Officer of the Brunei Royal Malay Regiment, Director of Agriculture, Director of Marine, Judicial Commissioner, Auditor General, Commis-

sioner of Development, Supervisor of Detention Camp, Controller of Telecommunications, Controller of Radio/Television, Senior Commissioner of Police, Superintendent of Police, Military ADC to His Highness the Sultan, Private Secretary cum Palace Household Controller, Labour Advisor, Postal Advisor and many others. On the other hand, the number of Englishmen as Privy Councillors have now increased from four (4) in 1975 to six (6) in 1977 (one just passed away), two nominated Legislative Councillors and two Executive Councillors.

Further, allow us, Your Excellency, to quote a report from "FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW ASIA 1977 YEAR BOOK" page 128, which reads: "Britain's Crown Agents continue to play an active role in Brunei's affairs, Crown Agents also handle the task of employing expatriates, from a new head of the fire department to the British teachers..." It continues, "Britain's Crown Agents continue to play an active role in Brunei's affairs advising on everything from financial investments to a new football coach."

### **The Visit of Minister of State For Commonwealth Affairs to Brunei**

Under intense pressure by world public opinion, especially after the adoption of resolution 3424 (XXX) of 8th December 1975, the Administering Power despatched His Right Honourable Lord Goronwy Roberts, Minister of State for Commonwealth Affairs to Brunei, in January 1976. In his press statement in Brunei, Lord Goronwy says:

"We are of course perhaps one of the cradles of democracy, and very much in favour of every country and this means every country — moving in the direction of free institutions. The pace this varies from country to country according to circumstances. But our basic view is for that to happen, and from time to time of course, we intimate, especially to our friends, our views, our hopes and our encouragements and this applies to Brunei..."

"My Government of course through the High Commissioner has drawn the attention of the Sultan to the terms of the recent United Nations resolution, the implications and possibilities, in that way we have, at this juncture, conveyed to him (the Sultan), in a friendly as possible a manner, how we see the situation, and how we hope the Brunei government may react."

Attractive phrases. The Visit of Lord Goronwy Roberts to our country resembles the visit of an angel who brings peace with a dove in his right hand and in his left, and olive branch — symbols of sincerity and honesty. It is almost two years now, but no concrete progress has been made. Is this not manipulation? However, world public opinion cannot be deceived, for most of the member countries of this world body were once colonies and we believe that memories of that bitter experience of being exploited and manipulated can never be erased from the minds of the respective peoples.

The Adoption of the resolution no 31/56 (XXXI) by the General Assembly on 1st December 1976 with 119 countries supporting and none opposing is a clear indication of the total rejection by the world public opinion of the Administering Power's political and legal manipulations.

### **Another Treaty?**

We believe that Your Excellency will agree that, the PRB as the proven representation of the aspirations of the people of Brunei, is one of the most important factors in any solution to the Brunei problem. It is justified that the PRB be included in any constitution and political talks relating Brunei. This is of course compatible with the United Nations call "for all parties concerned to work towards the early implementation of the resolution No 3424 (XXX)."

However, the PRB has never been consulted nor invited to attend any constitutional talks between the Administering Power and His Highness the Sultan of Brunei. It seems that the PRB will continue to be left out.

Your Excellency,

On 26th July 1977, a Malaysian newspaper published news from Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei, reading:

"Brunei will sign a new friendship treaty with Britain within the next few months which will bring about broad changes to the Sultanate's government set-up. The new treaty replacing the one signed in 1971, is expected to make Brunei gradually responsible for her external affairs while Britain will continue to be responsible for defence. The move follows talks in London recently between the

Sultan Sir Muda Hassanal Bolkiah and the British Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Lord Goronwy Roberts. The new treaty is to be signed in London and all members of Brunei Legislative Council are expected to be present. With the new treaty, Brunei will introduce a ministerial system of government.”

From the above statement, it is clear to us that the Administtering Power is preparing to strengthen herself in Brunei under the guise of another new “treaty”. The United Nations resolutions are not given any serious attention by the Administering Power; in fact there is a complete defiance of the said resolutions. Yet another “friendship treaty” is about to be signed with His Highness the Sultan of Brunei in London, with nominated councillors as rubber-stamps; while back at home the people of Brunei are intimidated and live in fear under THE EMERGENCY LAW.

From the above statement, we can also gather that the new “friendship treaty” will directly touch matters relating to Brunei’s affairs, as the report says that the new treaty “will bring about broad changes to the Sultanate’s government set up” and “with a new treaty, Brunei will introduce a ministerial system of government.

Therefore, the statements that say “the United Kingdom is not, and never has been the Administering Power in Brunei” and that “responsibility for internal affairs of Brunei laid solely with the Government of Brunei” are blatant lies which have cloaked the real role of the Administering Power from the wrath of world opinion.

## **APPEAL**

Your Excellency,

The question of Brunei is not the question of how big or small a country is. It is a question of a principle, a question of Human Rights and the question of the Right of Human Beings to live freely in accordance with the United Nations resolution 1514 (XV) of 14th December 1960. It is our ultimate desire to become independent and sovereign and be accepted as a member of the family of nations.

It is based on this principle that we come before you to seek the fullest support and cooperation until all of the provisions in the

resolutions no 3424 (XXX) and no 31/56 (XXX1) are fully implemented by the Administering Power.

We appeal to all peace loving nations and peoples now assembled at this respected, deliberative world body of the United Nations Organisation to extend to the struggling people of Brunei under the leadership of the PRB, active support until the above resolutions are implemented fully.

Through this world body, we appeal to members of The Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) to view the question of Brunei's independence seriously, and we especially direct our appeal to our sisters Malaysia and Indonesia, the closest neighbours of Brunei, to actively support this bitter struggle of ours. We further appeal to ASEAN countries to permit the PRB to open its office at their respective capital cities.

To the United States of America under the leadership of His Excellency Mr. Jimmy Carter, the champion of the cause of the Human Rights at this era, we call for the recognition of our inalienable rights to self-determination and independence and we further call upon the USA to support the draft resolution on Brunei to be presented by Malaysia before this Committee.

The PRB shares the joy and pride of our sisters, the peoples of the Republic of Vietnam and The Republic of Djibuti for being accepted into this world body.

We appeal to this world body to reaffirm the inalienable right of the people of Brunei to self-determination and independence in accordance with the United Nations resolution 1514 (XV) and reaffirm the United Nations resolutions on Brunei no 3424 (XXX) and no 31/56 (XXX1). We further appeal to this deliberative body of the world to take necessary and effective steps until the Administering Power in Brunei responds positively and urgently to the provisions of the above resolutions.

Further, we also call upon this deliberative world body to urge upon the Administering Power to recognise the PRB as the sole representative of the people of Brunei to self-determination and independence, and to extend an invitation to the PRB to attend and participate in all constitutional talks between the Administering



Power and His Highness the Sultan of Brunei in accordance with the report of Sub-Committee 11 which contains a draft consensus as adopted by the Special Committee (A/AC. 109/L.1052).

We also appeal to this world body to immediately intervene and prevent any attempt by the Administering Power to divert or evade from the substance and requirements of the said resolutions. Any solution the the question of Brunei should be based on and in accordance with the above resolutions.

Further, we call upon this deliberative world body to urge the Administering Power to withdraw immediately all of its military forces and personnel in Brunei, and all foreign military forces in the State.

Hereunto, we attest our signatures on behalf of The Central and Executive Committee of The Partai Rakyat Brunei (People's Party Brunei - PRB).

We beg to remain  
the petitioners,

PARTAI RAKYAT BRUNEI  
Signed

.....  
A.M. AZAHARI MAHMUD AL HAJ  
(President)

Signed

.....  
DR. MAHMUD SAEDON A. OTHMAN  
(Head, Foreign Affairs Bureau)

Signed

.....  
YASSIN AFFANDY  
(Secretary — General).



Inmates of Block J.



PRB Executive Committee Members, 1974



PRB delegation before the UN Fourth Committee

## BUKU INSAN

1. **BRITISH MALAYA** \$6.00  
An Economic Analysis  
(Li Dun Jen)
2. **THE SUN ALSO SETS** \$20.00  
Lessons in 'Looking East' (*out of stock*)  
(ed. Jomo)
3. **MASALAH SOSIO-EKONOMI MALAYSIA** \$6.00  
(ed. Jomo K.S. & Ishak Shari)
4. **DESIGNER GENES** \$6.00  
I.Q., Ideology & Biology  
(ed. Chee Heng Leng & Chan Chee Khoon)
5. **APAKAH DASAR EKONOMI BARU DAPAT MENCAPAI**  
**PERPADUAN KEBANGSAAN** (2 ed.) \$3.00  
Pembangunan & Ketidaksamaan Selepas Merdeka  
(Ishak Shari & Jomo K.S.)
6. **EARLY LABOUR** (*out of stock*) \$2.00  
Children at Work on Malaysian Plantations  
(Jomo K.S., Josie Zaini, P. Ramasamy, Sumathy Suppiah)
7. **MERDEKA!** \$10.00  
British Rule and the Struggle for Independence in Malaya,  
1946-1957  
(Khong Kim Hoong)
8. **THE INDIAN POOR** (*Tamil - 2 ed.*) \$3.00  
Problems & Solutions
9. **BERSAMA RAKYAT** \$3.00  
Gerakan Mahasiswa 1967-74  
(ed. Hassan Karim & Siti Nor Hamid)
10. **WITH THE PEOPLE!** \$3.00  
The Malaysian Student Movement 1967-74  
(ed. Hassan Karim & Siti Nor Hamid)
11. **IMPERIALISM NO! DEMOCRACY YES!** (*banned in Malaysia*). \$8.00  
Student Movement in the ASEAN Region  
(with the Asian Student Association)
12. **TAPI JEPUN ADA DI UTARA** (*telah habis dijual*) \$2.00  
(ed. Mohd. Nasir & Jomo K.S.)
13. **BUKU SEJARAH DUNIA MODEN** (*Kartun*) \$8.00
14. **DASAR EKONOMI MAHATHIR** (2 ed.) \$8.00
15. **PAGAR MAKAN PADI!** (*edisi ke 2*) \$10.00  
Amanah, Kemiskinan & Kekayaan Di Bawah DEB  
(Ozay Mehmet)
16. **LOGGING IN SARAWAK** (*ed. 2*) \$2.00  
The Belaga Experience
17. **SHAMSUL DI KILANG IKAN** \$3.00  
**MEENA: ANAK GADIS ESTET**  
(*Buku Kartun Dengan Dua Kisah*)

18.	<b>SHAMSUL &amp; THE ICE-CRUSHING MACHINE</b> <b>MEENA: A PLANTATION CHILD WORKER</b> <i>(Cartoon Book With Two Stories)</i>	\$3.00
19.	<b>BMF: The PEOPLE'S BLACK PAPER</b> <i>(out of stock)</i>	\$2.00
20.	<b>CAN THE NEP ACHIEVE NATIONAL UNITY?</b> <i>(Chinese)</i>	\$3.00
21.	<b>PENDIDIKAN DI DUNIA KETIGA</b> <i>(Kartun)</i> <b>HIKAYAT HAWA: SEJARAH WANITA</b>	\$2.00
22.	<b>MALAYSIAN STUDENT ACTIVISM, 1967-74</b> <i>(Chinese)</i> (ed. Hassan Karim & Siti Nor Hamid)	\$4.00
23.	<b>PAGAR MAKAN PADI: DEB MALAYSIA</b> <i>(Chinese)</i> (Ozay Mehmet)	\$8.00
24.	<b>PERANAN INTELEKTUAL</b> (Usman Awang & Pramodya Ananta Toer)	\$2.00
25.	<b>TRADE UNIONISM FOR MALAYSIAN WORKERS</b>	\$3.50
26.	<b>WHERE MONSOONS MEET</b> <i>(Cartoon Book)</i> <b>A People's History of Malaya</b>	\$8.00
27.	<b>LET THE PEOPLE JUDGE</b> (Tan Wah Piow)	\$6.95
28.	<b>DI MANA BUMI DIPIJAK</b> <i>Sejarah Rakyat Semenanjung Malaysia</i>	\$8.00
29.	<b>KESATUAN SEKERJA</b> <i>(Untuk Pekerja Malaysia)</i>	\$3.50
<b>BUKU WIRA KARYA:</b>		
1.	<b>BUMI MANUSIA</b> (Pramodya Ananta Toer)	\$15.00
2.	<b>ANAK SEMUA BANGSA</b> (Pramodya Ananta Toer)	\$15.00
3.	<b>JEJAK LANGKAH</b> (Pramodya Ananta Toer)	\$15.00
4.	<b>MEREKA YANG TERBIAR</b> (Hasnul Hadi)	\$6.00
5.	<b>TEMBANG JALAK BALI</b> <b>The Song of the Starling</b> (Putu Oka Sukanta)	\$6.00
6.	<b>BUMI MANUSIA</b> <i>(Chinese)</i> (Pramodya Ananta Toer)	\$5.00
7.	<b>GADIS PANTAI</b> (Pramodya Ananta Toer)	
<b>BUKU IKRAQ:</b>		
1.	<b>ISLAM, POLITICS AND THE STATE</b> (ed. Ashgar Khan)	\$6.00
2.	<b>HAJJ</b> (Ali Shariati)	\$8.00
3.	<b>ISLAM AND ITS RELEVANCE TO OUR AGE</b> (Asghar, Ali Engineer)	\$6.00
4.	<b>WARISAN SHARIATI</b> (ed. Ahmad Shabery Cheek)	\$6.00





This collection of selected documents provides invaluable information on the establishment, development and struggle of the People's Party of Brunei. Haji Zaini Haji Ahmad has compiled and introduced the documents and photographs, which cover:

- the founding of Partai Rakyat Brunei in 1956
- the revolution of 8th December 1962
- subsequent PRB efforts to secure Brunei's independence

*Kumpulan dokumen terpilih ini memberi maklumat penting tentang penubuhan, perkembangan dan perjuangan Partai Rakyat Brunei. Haji Zaini Haji Ahmad telah berjaya memperkenalkan kumpulan dokumen serta gambar yang meliputi:*

- *penubuhan Partai Rakyat Brunei pada tahun 1956*
- *revolusi 8hb. Disember 1962*
- *usaha PRB untuk memperolehi kemerdekaan Brunei*